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THE HISTORY OF

THE PRAYER BOOK.

THE DERIVATION OF MOST OF ITS FORMULARIES

FROM PREVIOUS LITURGIES,

And the Dates

OF THE COMPOSITION OF OTHERS OF THEM

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WITH A SKETCH

SHEWING HOW THEY MIGHT WITH SOME ALTERATIONS BE ADVANTAGEOUSLY RE-ARRANGED IN VARIED SERVICES.

BY THE

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PREFACE.

In preparing these pages for publication, my wish has been to submit correct information about the origin and gradual formation of our liturgical Services. I have sought to do this in such a plain and clear statement, as a person of moderate education may readily understand, without having to wade through minute critical dissertations, or being perplexed by obstruse terms, and theological phrases. For these, though familiar to the learned, and truthful in themselves, are often so remote from the language of commom life, as to leave the general reader puzzled by the strange expressions, and therefore, liable to misconception.

If the reader will give each chapter a patient and deliberate perusal, I trust he will, ere he close the book, have a clear comprehension of the history of the Prayer Book and its formation; and of the process of liturgical development in our National Church, from the introduction of Christianity into Britain, to the present time.

I have diligently consulted the best authorities within my reach, and have at times indicated the precise quarter whence I have derived my information;—(Cardwell, or Palmer, Berens, or Lightfoot, Procter, or Freeman, Riddle, or Bingham, Gildas, Stillingfleet, or Macaulay). But I have not thought it desirable to load each page with references, that could not profit the class of readers for whom my book is designed. More searching inquirers however, who like to examine references, and to see some of the documents upon which my statements rest, will find matter to interest them in the Appendix.

Not attempting the work either of an antiquarian ritualist, or of a controversialist, I have passed over several secondary details. I have not considered it necessary to notice all the groundless enactments and errors of the Mediæval Church; but have restricted myself to marking only the great principles, which have affected the public worship of the Church in successive ages. Of course it has been my duty to expose the gross errors, which the National Church repudiated at the Reformation. The Protestant Establishment though unhappily unable thoroughly to eradicate them all at that period, cleared away the grossest evils, and continued to employ the sounder portion of the formularies, that had been accredited

by the approval, and the devout use of them by many generations of worshippers.

Suggestions for further amendment are introduced, where on mature deliberation I have deemed them necessary. These, however, are not brought forward from any captious desire to censure the arrangements, or the negligence of our rulers in Church or State; but from the deepest conviction of a further temperate Revision being imperatively necessary after a lapse of 300 years, in order to render the Liturgy suitable to the present age, and also desirable for the removal of stumbling blocks, and the advance of Spiritual enlightenment. May every alteration made for this purpose have a conservative tendency,—only clearing away what is superfluous and unedifying; while by respectful consideration for others in the conscientious exercise of their judgment, we shall render the Establishment more pure, and more popular; and, as a natural consequence, more comprehensive and more truly National.

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Preliminary Explanation of the words 'Liturgy', 'Masses', 'Ritual', 'Litanies'.

I. Much error and confusion having arisen out of the varied use of the above words *Liturgy, &c.*, it is necessary to explain the senses in which different parties employ the terms.

The word '*Liturgy*' among one class of writers, who retain its primitive application, signifies restrictedly the order of Prayers used in the Service for the administration of the *Eucharist*, or Communion. But with general writers of the present day the word 'Liturgy' is used comprehensively for all the public Prayers of the Church.

The reader is cautioned to bear in mind the varied use of this word, and carefully to distinguish in which of the two senses any writer employs the term; otherwise he may be misled as to the meaning of what he reads.

If any one asserts that the Church, (speaking generally of the body of Christians) has had a *Liturgy* from the Apostolic age,—meaning thereby that Christians in celebrating the Lord's Supper have from the beginning recounted the Lord's Institution of that rite, reciting a few Scripture passages and Hymns, or ascriptions of Glory to God,—with but little variation in the order of their arrangements; none can deny this to be a correct statement of there having existed such a Liturgy.

But if others, adopting the extended signification of the word *Liturgy*, state that the Church (speaking generally as before) has from the first ages had a uniform body of prayers in the public worship of its assembled congregations —in unvarying arrangement, or with only immaterial alterations, from the first Century downwards, they would assert

what is quite *contrary* to recorded facts, and their assertion will be disproved by the contents of the following pages; for it will be seen in them that several of the prayers which we have now in use have been adopted at distant intervals, from the third and fourth Century down to the seventeenth Century; supplementary additions or modifications being made even to a more recent date.

It is a well known and admitted fact that the Early Church kept concealed from their heathen persecutors the details and words used in their religious Services, for fear of their being used against them, or profanely employed. This however, does not sufficiently account for the entire absence of any indications or allusions in their writings to a general Liturgy as having existed in the primitive ages. And it will be seen, when we examine the written records of the public Services in the fifth and sixth Century, how very limited even at that later date was the range of prayers appointed for general public worship.

II. I must also request my readers to distinguish well between the regular *Communion Service* of the Early Church, and the sundry *Masses* for *private* or peculiar celebrations of the Communion which subsequently came into use. Whereas the former was uniform and unalterable, these latter were modified forms for Spiritual anniversaries, of peculiar events of Christ's history, or of that of the Saints; and consequently admitted special Collects and Prayers appropriate to such commemorations, in addition to the Canonical portions of the Holy Communion Service: and thus, I conclude, were the channel of introducing fresh matter, and supplementing the range of the general prayers; and from this source there have been selections culled to augment the general Liturgy for our public Services.

III. The word '*Ritual*' was properly restricted in its signification to the *occasional Rites* of the Church.—The Visitation of the Sick,—Anointing,—Baptism,—Burial, &c. But general writers and readers in modern times apply the term more extendedly, and this is apt to cause incorrect apprehensions.

IV. The word '*Litany*' though first used in reference to any continued form of public supplication, came to be subsequently restricted to prayers supplicating mercy, or deprecatory of evil, uttered or sung by processional choirs as they went to visit different Churches or holy places, on Rogation or similar days :—or prayers used in times of public calamity, —the visitation of war, pestilence, famine, &c. Such *public* processions in the open streets becoming at times objectionable, and violent party demonstrations, were discontinued, and Litanies were mainly used thenceforth *in Churches* or *in sacred buildings*. Foreign Churches still use several different Litanies in public processions, but our Church has only retained one Litany, embodying many ancient supplications, and cleared of much erroneous matter that had been superadded in the Mediæval Church.

The special construction of a Litany is that the Priest enunciates the scope and purport of each petition, and the general body adopts the same by repeating a few words at the close of each petition, such as 'Lord have mercy,' or 'We beseech Thee to hear us,' &c.

THE HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

Misapprehension about the origin of our Liturgy prevalent; sketch of the religious Services adopted in England from Gaul and Rome, previous to the formation of our present English Prayer Book, in the sixteenth Century.

THERE exists a vague and unwarranted belief that the prayers and order of our English Liturgy, (in the general sense of the word) have come down to us from remote antiquity, without much change. Thus the popular mind is indisposed to allow any alteration being now made in those formularies, which it erroneously conceives to have such venerable authority and long usage to recommend them. It may therefore be well to show clearly what proportion of our services, and what arrangement of them actually have such antiquity in their favour, and at the same time to note what fresh matter has been added to them as years rolled on; and what varying modification of their use and order has been introduced from time to time. To explain this by an illustration I would say, that although it may be allowed to a child or to a simple spectator, while looking

upon the full and powerful current of the Thames at London, to say "How great this tide of waters which comes to us from the distant river-head in Gloucestershire;" intelligent persons view it with other thoughts. They know that the great body of waters has come together from various sources, and they can trace out several of its component streams. They not only recognize the supply from the fountain head of the Isis, but that from its tributary rivers,—the Coln, the Evenlode, the Cherwell, the Thame and the Kennet. The imagination depicts to itself the streamlets from a thousand springs, the sundry rivulets, the water drainage of upland moors, that have all contributed to its volume, and multiplied its power a hundredfold; till at last we find the Thames as one vast river urging its 'silver winding way' with fertilizing influence through the parks of Royalty, the lawns of nobles, and the fields of the commonalty; and after reaching the Metropolis becoming the bearer of British commerce and British energy, to and from all quarters of the Globe.

Let us in like manner have just appreciation of the successive additions and modifications of our Liturgy. We shall find by close examination that it has not come down to us unvaried from the first ages. That in fact there is no trace of a primal organized general Liturgy, from which all others have been derived: though it is true that the simple usages of the Apostolical age, in celebrating the Eucharist, became treasured in memory, and adopted by various bodies of the early Church. This substantive form of commemorating a few facts, reciting the words of institution of the Lord's Supper,

and uttering a few prayers and hymns, in time admitted a few changes and modifications. But there are very scant records of other services of united worship besides the Eucharist; and it would not be greater simplicity to assert the broad Thames to be identical with the springs of the Isis, than to declare our Prayer Book to be the unaltered and unmodified legacy of primæval Christianity. To all who are familiar with the history of our Liturgical Services, this indeed will be only a truism; but it may be beneficial for the popular classes to have the leading facts of the case plainly set out before them. We will therefore give a brief but minute statement of the successive arrangements in Public Worship.

The reader will be better prepared to form a correct idea of the rise of the public services of the Christian Church, if he first take a glance at the arrangements for worship that had existed under the Jewish Dispensation.

Review of Jewish worship.

The Scriptures themselves teach us, that the main constituent of the Temple services was a routine of morning and evening sacrifices, with other sacrificial rites on the recurrence of the Sabbath—the new moon —the anniversaries of the great festival commemorations, such as—the Passover—the feast of first fruits—the feast of tabernacles after full ingathering of the harvest—supplemented by innumeral sacrificial and typical rites —rites of anointing to special offices—of purification—of expiatory offering for sins—cleansing from ceremonial defilements—thanksgiving offerings of victims, seasons of penitence or jubilee—&c., &c.

There was preparation on a magnificent scale* for choral recitations of the metrical compositions of the Prophets, and of the Psalms of David, Asaph, Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxviii. 20.) of Moses (Exod. xv. and xxxii.)—All the Psalms were doubtless musically repeated in the private choral services of the Levitical bands, but it appears that a selection of certain special psalms, of a *congregational character,* was appointed for the above named festivals and public services.

In that selection the greater and the lesser Hallel were pre-eminent. These were series of psalms. The *greater Hallel* was the series of Psalms from the 96th to the 100th inclusive. Bishop Horsley states that it was appointed for the feast of Pentecost. Others have however thought that the 136th Psalm, with its continuous refrain or chorus "for his mercy endureth for ever," was the greater Hallel.

The Lesser or Egyptian Hallel, was the series of Psalms from the 113th to 118th, commemorative primarily of the deliverance from Egypt. This series was sung on great occasions, especially at the celebration of the Passover, while the victims were being slain in the outward court, of which the blood was passed by the Priests in bowls from hand to hand, till it reached the High Priest, who poured it at the foot of the altar.

* Thus I Chron. xxii. 5. we read of four thousand Levites appointed by David to praise the Lord in psalms. The imposing effect of their choral singing at the Dedication of the Temple may be read in II Chron. v. 11. and in the record given of the foundation being laid for rebuilding the Temple, in Ezra iii. as also at the completion of it.

Another series was *the Psalms of Degrees or Steps*, viz. from 120th to 135th, of which Abp. Parker has given the following quaint description;

> "These fifteen Psalms next following
> Be songs benamed of steps or stairs,
> For that the choir on them did sing
> The people's vows, to bless by prayers,
> For lucky speed in their affairs;
> As need, as time, as case did bring,
> In wedlock, war, or house begone,
> For peace, for aid—for freedom won."

At the sacrifice in the Temple in the morning, they sang one sixth part of the Song of Moses in Deut. xxxii.: at the evening sacrifice, the Song of Moses from Exodus xv.: at the closing of the Temple, and setting the watch for the night, the 134th Psalm was sung.

A series of several Psalms sung together are spoken of, (I Chron. xvi.) when David brought the ark to Jerusalem.

It never obtained as a custom to read or sing the Psalter from the beginning to the end, in unvarying succession as we do.*

The sacrificial rites, and the accompanying recital of psalmody, thus were the main features of the Temple worship—but it remains for us to approximate as nearly

* The above information I have chiefly culled from Lightfoot, Mosheim, Bingham, Horsley, &c., and Lightfoot states the Jewish Maimonides as his authority. The subject has been more fully set forth in "The Imagery and poetic ornaments of the Psalms." A work published by J. W. Parker, in 1835.

as we can the right estimate of the use of public prayer under the Mosaic dispensation.

Worship was performed by some act of the Priest within the Holy Place, on behalf of the people, who were engaged in prayer* outside it: or the individual engaged in silent devotion† at the entrance of the Temple. Prayer was made also by the Priests and Levites, on the part of themselves and of the Congregation,‡ or by the King, or chief Leader of the people, or prophet,‖ the general congregation only assenting by ejaculatory assent, or by uniting in the ascription of praise—the deprecation of wrath, or petition for mercy. Many of the Prayers, recorded as uttered in public, appear to have been *original*—or extempore—not repeated from any written formulary.

There was little or no provision in the original Judaic System, for united congregational supplications in set formularies according to the use in modern Liturgies—Their worship was peculiarly *Priestly worship*, while the laity expressed their concurrence by their attitude of prostration, or of standing up to praise—or by ejaculations at intervals, such as the utterance of

* Leviticus xvi. 17 and 21. Zacharias, Luke i. 9 to 13.

† Hannah, I Sam. i. 12 and 13.

‡ II Chron. xxxv. 10 and 15. Nehemiah ix. Joel ii. 17.

‖ Thus Solomon's Prayer at the Dedication of the Temple as recorded I Kings viii. 22. and II Chron. vi. 12. Hezekiah's Prayer, II Kings xix. 15. II Chron. xxix. 29 and 30. II Chron. xxx. 18. Isaiah xxxvii. 15. Ezra ix. 5. So also Elijah I Kings xviii. 36. Nehemiah viii. 6. and again Nehemiah ix. 3. to end of chapter.

'hallelujah'; or of a short chorus accompanied by instrumental music, at such places as those where the word 'Selah' is printed in the Bible Version of the Psalms. (II Chron. v. 13.)

True it is that the original system was much modified under the Prophets, in the five Centuries preceding the Christian Dispensation. The Scriptures, which had with the Law been read in public occasionally—henceforth were read more frequently, and in larger portions—The Temple worship and priestly functions being greatly denuded of their glory and privileges—there appears to have prevailed a more diligent perusal of the ancient scriptures in the less formal solemnities of their Synagogues.

John the Baptist, a man of Levitical race, the herald of Jesus and his new dispensation, introduced a new character of ministration. This altered system was still more advanced by Jesus himself who was not of Levitical descent, and by his Apostles, who were also devoid of the authority of the Levitical priesthood—Jesus however stood up (Luke iv. 16.) in their synagogues to read and expound—according to his divine right, and his Melchisedec priesthood—and his Apostles did the same, adding words of exhortation—as St. Paul at Antioch, Acts xiii. 15. and at Thessalonica, Acts xvii. 2.

Reflecting on the above records, the reader will be prepared to trace the gradual mutations of the Apostolic and primitive Church, from what had been usual in the Jewish worship; and passing beyond the Judaic system

as modified in its last stages*; he will find an entirely new system of spiritual congregational worship spring up. In it much liberty was allowed to the worshippers, apart from dependence upon anything like a levitical priesthood. They could offer prayer, or exhortation, introduce a psalm, or a doctrine, or lead the services in any way for which they were spiritually capacitated. (See I Corinth. xii. and xiv.) It would seem that this enlarged spirituality was one fulfilment of the parabolic or enigmatic expressions of Jesus, that a waning and obsolete system could not be patched up, by adding 'new cloth to an old garment,' but after the rising up of a fresh generation of disciples, 'new wine might be placed in new bottles.' Accordingly until a new race had succeeded to the former one, we trace a tendency to recur to the elementary and preparatory arrangements and sentiments, that had prevailed in the previous dispensation.

Observances in the first and second Centuries.

We may approximate a correct estimate of the process of the formation of the earliest Liturgies, by noticing undisputed facts in the first Centuries. What do we find recorded in the first two Centuries, comprising the Primitive age of the Church under the Apostles and disciples of the Lord, and their immediate followers? Assuredly no Liturgy (in our usual comprehensive

* The modern Jews have a printed Liturgy consisting of a *Selection* of Psalms for different occasions, with formularies of prayer, but it is unavoidably a barren and desolate service, having neither the truthful typical character of the old dispensation, nor the vital spirituality of the new.

sense of the word) existed. The extent of formularies comprised only a short form of words to accompany the act of Baptism, and a recitation of the Lord's words in instituting the other Sacrament, with an injunction so to keep up the commemoration of his death; accompanied by reading a few passages of Scripture with a few sentences, or a Psalm, or Hymn from Scripture. These simple rites contained the *germ* of observances which were afterwards gradually developed in longer Services; for in their repeated use, additional collects and sundry expressions met approval, and were thenceforth continued in the administration of those services, while the great principle of Love to GOD, and Love to Man, gave direction to their aspirations in varied prayer and intercession.

The above rites, completed among the primitive Christians, the ordinances of Public Worship.*

Extempore Prayer was doubtless (as recorded in the Book of Acts) the main, if not the exclusive, usage of the Apostles and of their immediate disciples and followers guided by the Holy Spirit, in accordance with the model Prayer given by Jesus himself to his disciples, or suggested by perusal of the revelations of the same Spirit in the volume of Scripture.

We have two interesting pictures given us, of the primitive usages in the second Century—one by a heathen—Pliny the younger. The other by Justin a

* The above is confirmed by what St. Paul says in I Cor. xi., xii. and xiv. This view is supported by Pliny's letter to Trajan about 105A.D., and by Justin's Apology, 145A.D.

Christian who addressed to Antoninus Pius (about the year 140—145,) a treatise explanatory of the usages of the Christian Church, and in defence of it.

The remarkable letter written by Pliny to the Emperor Trajan is on record. It was written about the year 105—110 A.D., its purport is to consult the Emperor what course he should pursue in his Provincial government, with respect to the rapidly multiplying bodies of Christians. His report of them admits that they were numerous, and a quiet orderly people, only opposed to the Pagan religion of ancient Rome, "that they met together before dawn, took oaths among themselves to preserve purity of conduct, and to love one another—that they took simple food together (bread and wine,) prayed, sung a hymn to Christ as God, and then quietly departed."

The reader will observe the simple, unobtrusive nature of their worship, and the hours to which their worship was limited.

Advancing about 40 years further, the nature of the service of the early Christians as it existed about 145 A.D. may be collected from what Justin Martyr says, in his Apology or Defence of Christianity.

He thus describes the first admission of a convert to the communion of the faithful: having related the act of Baptism he adds, 'We, then, after having so washed him who hath expressed his conviction and professes the faith, lead him to those who are called brethren, where they are gathered together, to make common prayers with great earnestness, both for themselves, and for him

who is now enlightened, and for all others in all places, that having learned the truth we may be deemed worthy to be found men of godly conversation in our lives, and to keep the Commandments, that so we may attain to eternal salvation. When we have finished our prayers we* salute one another with a kiss. After which, there is brought to that one of the brethren who presides, bread and a cup of wine mixed with water. And he having received them gives praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks in many words, for that God hath vouchsafed to them these things. And when he hath finished his praises and thanksgiving, all the people who are present express their assent, saying, Amen, which in the Hebrew tongue implies, So be it. The President having given thanks, and the people having expressed their assent, those whom we call deacons give to each of those who are present a portion of the bread which hath been blessed, and of the wine, mixed with water; and carry some away for those who are absent." And this food is called by us the Eucharist.

Justin thus describes their public worship. "Upon Sunday, we have an assembly of all who live in the towns, or in the country, who meet in an appointed place; and the records of the Apostles are read according as the time will allow, and when the reader leaves off the President in a discourse admonishes and exhorts us to imitate such good examples; then we all stand up together and pray, and when that prayer is finished

* The men sitting by themselves, as also the women, this usage of the times created no disorder, or unseemly levity.

bread is offered (in worship) and wine and water—and the President then also with all the earnestness in his power, sends up prayers and thanksgivings; and the people conclude the prayer with him, saying 'Amen.' Then distribution is made of the consecrated elements, and every one partakes of them, and they are also sent to such as are absent by the Deacons."

Here evidently the commemoration was made by memory—and no written formularies were used.

The reader will observe that the Eucharist had already become somewhat distinct from a meal partaken of by united brethren; yet on the other hand, it had not assumed the character of imposing solemnity, which it bore in the Middle Ages.

The body of Christians being compact and united, and witnessing the power of the Apostles, (which were miraculous, both in speech and powers of healing) was under more immediate control of the Holy Spirit. When afterwards the Church became multitudinous, and scattered throughout extensive tracts of country, the introduction of *Formularies committed to memory* (none appear to have been written till a later date) became more needed, and more edifying for such an aggregate of worshippers of all ages and shades of intellect, placed under the uninspired direction of numerous teachers.

There was therefore *at first no precise* form of the General Service similar to that of the present day. If I may adopt from memory an illustration from material to spiritual things, (which however is always necessarily

imperfect) we may say that the actual formularies were not shaped or perpetuated, but the power and elements of them were floating as it were in solution, and were taken up in unconfined rites of worship, sometimes approaching one formation, and in other times and places another formation.

In course of time the order of the services gradually assumed a fixed formation. To keep up our illustration it was precipitated in firm, unaltering forms; as crystals are precipitated with definite shape and proportions: such forms though firm and solid, being angular and unyielding to meet various requirements; and though sparkling and beautiful, being often divested of warmth of expression, and of power of assimilation with the feelings and heart of the worshipper.

The sum of the preceding remarks amounts to this: we dismiss as utterly unsustainable the idea of there having been one Primary model Liturgy for the General Services of the Church. We find that Liturgies for the Communion Service or Eucharist existed from the third Century downward, all of them being repetitions of the simple Institution of the Eucharist in the Primitive Church, with traditionary usages from the Apostolic age. The Service was conducted by memory and practice: without being committed to writing during the first centuries. At least we do not know that written copies of such Eucharistic Liturgies were made before the fourth or fifth Century. It is admitted that

Note.—I cannot recall where I first met with the idea conveyed in these lines, but it appears to me so forcible that I have adopted it.

the Eucharistic Liturgy, in the "Apostolic Constitutions" ascribed to St. Clement, (a cotemporary with the Apostles) was not published in manuscript 'till about the beginning of the fourth Century, but it was composed before the Nicene Council in 325 A.D. The "Apostolic Constitutions" assumed to give a representation of the early Apostolic Church, but they were composed more than 200 years after the Apostolic age.

The above Eucharistic Liturgies, were of course similar to one another in the great fact commemorated, and in the substance of the prayers, tho' admitting some variation in the order of observances, and a few differences of expression. There were added also fresh formularies of prayer from time to time in *private and special masses*,* and also in the other Services of the Churches, which had now become more defined communities.

The Mission of the Apostles and their immediate successors having now been accomplished in the institution of various local Churches, we may enumerate the chief of those Churches which had distinct existence, and of which each assumed for itself a peculiar form of worship.

1.—We have the Churches founded by the *Apostle James* at Jerusalem, Antioch, Cæsarea, and Byzantium, (afterwards called Constantinople.)

These Churches had what is termed the *Oriental* Liturgy;—written in Greek. Four distinct species of which Eucharistic Liturgy are still in existence, beside that of Saint Clement.

* *See* Preface.

2.—The Churches founded by the *Apostle John* in Asia Minor, and thence spread by his followers into Gaul, whence again they are believed to have communicated the character of their services to Britain, and temporarily also to Spain.

These Churches had that Liturgy which subsequently acquired the name of the *Gallican* Liturgy.

3.—The Churches founded by the *Apostle Paul*, (modified afterwards by traditions of St. Peter,) in Italy, Rome, Milan, Sicily, and a portion of the African coast in the neighbourhood of Carthage opposite to Sicily; and developed in Britain Ireland and Spain to the extent of greatly superseding the previous order of the Gallican Church in these countries.

These all had the *Roman* Liturgy with slight variations.

I will not dwell upon the churches founded by St. Mark and his successors at Alexandria in Egypt, Abyssinia and the North East coast of Africa, these Churches adopted the *Alexandrian* Liturgy. Nor will I add any notice here of the *Nestorian* Church and Liturgy, founded by *St. Jude* and his successors; or of the Armenian and other Liturgies; as I only care in this brief manual to mention the sources whence the formation of our own General Liturgy has been affected, viz. by the Gallican and the Roman formularies, and in a minor degree by those of the Oriental Churches. We need scarcely travel indeed (in tracing the origin of our formularies of worship) beyond the consideration of the two chief Liturgies, the Gallican and the Roman.

When I have offered some remarks upon these two distinct ancient Churches, and shewn that in the sixth Century they had only a brief introductory *general service* followed by the Communion, (though there sprang up several general observances of worship which afterwards became more fully developed,) the general reader will be better able to trace the origin of our public prayers, and to understand the compound formation of the *Latin Liturgy* subsequently used in England from the time of Augustine in the sixth Century, to the Reformation in the sixteenth Century. When we come to the sixteenth Century and have to review the English Liturgy, (in the extended modern sense of that word) we shall find that tho' taken mainly from the Latin Liturgy, other originals contributed a few of its minor component parts.

The Gallican Liturgy, traced from its rise (in the Churches originally founded by the disciples and successors of St. John) to its matured formation, according to documents of the fifth and sixth Centuries.

Scripture records the superintendence of St. John over the seven Churches in Asia Minor, in the latter years of the first Century. Upon his death at Ephesus, Polycarp, his cotemporary, became the first Bishop of Smyrna, (one of the Churches over which John had presided). Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp, and this Irenæus, as also Pothinus, came from the coasts of Asia Minor, and became Bishops of Lyons in Gaul in the middle of the second Century: long before Rome sent any missionaries thither.

90 A.D.

About 150 A.D.

From Lyons missionaries proceeded to the upper district of Gaul, and it is believed that Church
250 A.D. order and Institutions were thus first introduced into Britain from Gaul about 250 A.D.

We know indeed that during the supremacy of the Roman Empire in Britain, Christianity had been adopted there by several individuals in the first and second Centuries, previous to any record of Church Institutions in this Island; but there is I believe no record of the introduction at that time into Britain *of Church order according to the early Roman Institutions;* and the proximity of Britain to *Gaul,* and the circumstance of the early Church Institutions in Britain being found to have agreed in many respects with the *Gallic* ritual, and to have differed from those which were brought over from *Rome* subsequently by Augustine, 597 A.D. indicates that the British institutions and their Liturgical arrangements had come originally from Gaul.

368 A.D. Hilary Bishop of Poictiers is said to have written a book of Hymns and a Sacramental Liturgy, and it is evident that during these centuries, the administration of the Lord's Supper was the most prominent rite of the Church, the other services being regarded as by no means on a parallel footing.

I believe the account given by Germanus in the sixth Century (Palmer 143p.) is the most ancient record, of the Gallic Liturgy as it existed then.*

* And probably *as* it had been repeated for a century or two before that time.

Germanus describes the *general service* that preceded the Sacrament, as consisting of

First the anthem—Glory be to the Father, and to &c.

The Hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, which was, and is, and is to come."

The song of Zacharias, 'Blessed be the Lord God &c.

A lesson from the Prophets, or Old Testament.

Then one from the Epistles.

The Benedicite, 'O! all ye works of the Lord.'

Portion from the Gospel.†

The Sermon.

The Deacon made Prayer for the People.

The Priest recited a collect.

Then the Catechumens, the novice disciples, and those under penitential discipline were severally dismissed.

This concluded the *general service* of the entire Congregation.

After a short silence the *Eucharistic Liturgy* began.

The Priest commenced the Service by a short address, connected with the Season or particular Day.

Then recited a Prayer.

The offerings of the People were received while the choir sung an offertory anthem.

The elements were placed on the table.

The Recitation of the names of living and departed Saints.

The kiss of peace.

The collect for peace.

† The people here made the impressive response which we continue to the present day, 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord.'

The Sentences, Lift up your hearts, &c.

God's benefits recorded.

The Hymn Ter-sanctus, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory, —Glory be to Thee, O Lord most High.

Thanksgiving—with commemoration of the Saviour's Institution of the Sacrament.

Collect by Priest.

Offering up elements of bread and wine.

Prayer for sanctification of them.

The bread broken.

Lord's Prayer by all.

Appropriate prayer by Priest alone.

The Blessing.

Participation of the bread and wine during which a Psalm or Anthem was sung.

Collect of grace or thanksgiving.

The Ancient British Church adopted the above order of Celebration, and the British Bishops (whom we read of in the fourth Century) had in all probability been consecrated to their office in Gaul.

Distinctive Features.

The Gallic order (adopted from the Asiatic Churches who followed St. John) had some peculiar and distinctive features of its own, which it may be well here to notice.

The Gallic Church observed Easter day on the 14th day of the first month after the vernal equinox *whatever day* of the week it might fall upon, whereas the Roman order, and Church following St. Peter, keep Easter day on the *Sunday* next after the 14th day of that month.

They had observances in Baptism slightly different from the Roman order—Prayers for consecration of the water on each occasion of Baptism: whereas the Roman order only consecrated the water once, as long as the same water was retained for use.

Their Communion Service in the order of some of its collects &c., differed from the Roman order of reading the same collects or formularies.

And The Ancient British Church is recorded in these formularies, to have coincided with the *Gallican* order, and to have differed from the Roman, which difference Augustine afterwards endeavoured to correct.

Notice of the Roman Liturgy according to the Earliest written records.

In addition to the Gallican order and Liturgy, there were only in Western Europe those of the Roman Church. The first origin of the Church of Rome must be ascribed to the teaching of St. Paul and St. Peter.

33 A.D. We read in Acts ii. 10. that there had been "strangers of Rome" present at Jerusalem among those who heard St. Peter's Sermon on the day of Pentecost, and they probably carried back some faint ideas of gospel truth to Rome, and taught others there to believe in Christ as the Messiah.

Those strangers were doubtless Jews, and there are several indications that for many years they were at Rome in a transition state from Judaism to Christianity. It is very questionable if there was any regularly organized Christian Church there before St. Paul's first

visit. (See Acts xxviii. 23 to 31.) Still, there were many excellent christians there as appears by his Epistle written to Rome, 60 A.D., three years before he visited it the first time in 63 A.D. (See the first and last two chapters of his Epistle.) In his first visit he dwelt two years in his own hired house. His second visit to Rome must have been about 66 A.D.

We learn by tradition that both Paul and Peter suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Nero 66—68 A.D. or soon after that date. What amount of influence and guidance St. Peter exercised in addition to St. Paul, I have not been able to ascertain; tradition asserts that he exercised a good deal; but it is not entirely to be depended on.

320 A.D. Christianity had become the Religion of many of the Romans under Constantine, about 320 A.D.

The Patriarch Innocentius, 420 A.D. speaks of the Roman rites as having been derived from St. Peter's teaching.

451 A.D. Pope Leo added a few words to the service of the Sacramentary Liturgy.

483 to 492 A.D. There still exists a *sacramentary* manuscript of Gelasius of date 483 A.D. Gelasius modified and augmented the services. He appointed prayers, collects, and appropriate addresses for sundry seasons, or Commemorations. These were probably in the special and particular Masses, not in the Canon of the *Sacramental Liturgy* which last he did not substantially alter.

538 A.D. Vigilius while he speaks of the Liturgy of the Eucharist as received from Apostolic tradition, speaks of prayers added for special days and seasons.

590 A.D. Pope Gregory the Great collected, arranged, improved, and abbreviated the collects of the special Masses (which masses were adaptations of the Canon of the sacramental Liturgy to sundry occasions.) He only inserted one short passage of three clauses into the Sacramental Canon—It ran thus "Do thou order our days in thy peace; ordain our deliverance from eternal damnation, and that we may be numbered with the flock of thy Elect." He caused the Lord's Prayer to be read closely following the consecration of the Elements, instead of a pause intervening in which the Bread was broken.

We may regard him as the great reviser and improver of the Roman Service.

590 A.D. In comparing the Roman with the Gallican Liturgy of the Eucharist, we find that in Gregory's time 590 A.D. the two greatly coincided in substance, though the order of a few of the prayers and ceremonies is varied.

In the introductory *general* service a few of the anthems or sentences from Scripture and versicles of the Gallican general service are omitted in the Roman service; but in the Roman Eucharistic service the number of prayers and collects is a little increased, prayers being added for the civil Ruler, for the Bishop, commemoration of those who had offered liberally &c., with

a Prayer that the consecrated Elements might be presented by the Angels upon the altar in Heaven, &c.*

It was after the establishment of the Gallican Church upon the Asiatic model, that Missionaries from Rome introduced their views and observances into Gaul. There is little doubt that the one system gradually tempered the other there, as it did afterwards in Britain. In both Gaul and Britain the two systems ultimately coalesced, the Roman becoming *predominant*, but not *entirely* superseding the Gallic Element.

The reader will observe that a large portion of both the Roman and Gallican Eucharistic Liturgy consists of reading Scripture, or reciting passages of scripture narrative, with hymns and anthems. Scripture is the staple of the service, and the prayers are of limited number even in the fifth and sixth Centuries.*

We have now arrived, in our review, at the time of the consolidation of Church arrangements in our native country in the time of Gregory the Great, 597—600 A.D. A multiplication of formularies had evidently been gradually made during the previous two Centuries, by the composition of prayers, appropriate collects, hymns, and addresses to be used in the service for the Eucharist, in the special Masses, and public Rites of the Church; and various services at several hours of the day had now become habitual in addition to the Eucharistic service. These additional services I shall presently enumerate.

* Much of the above information about the Gallic and Roman Liturgies is taken from Palmer's Primitive Liturgies, tho' I have not depended on that work alone.

It will however be remembered that Latin was the native language at Rome, and that the same language was retained as the language of the Church Service, in Western Europe, and wherever Rome sent its missionaries, or spread its influence; and this practice we shall see continued for nearly 1000 years afterwards, viz. until the Reformation.

We must now contemplate the course and progress of Augustine and his brother missionaries among the Anglo-Saxon race, and in uniting with the British Church.

Upon the arrival of Augustine in England, it is admitted that he found pagan worship prevalent among the Saxons, while the Liturgical arrangements retained in the remote parts of Britain were different from those of Rome. They had as I before mentioned, been formed upon the use prevalent in Gaul. We find therefore that Augustine sent messengers to Rome for instructions: one of the questions he sent to be resolved, was that, since there was such diversity between the offices of the Roman and Gallican Churches, he desired to know which he should follow. Gregory's politic answer was, that he should choose that which was most proper and suitable for the English Church.

According to Bede, Augustine addressed the British Bishops in the following terms. "In many respects "you act in a manner contrary to our customs, and "indeed to those of the Universal Church; and yet, if "you will obey me in these three things—to celebrate "Easter at the proper time; to perform the office of "Baptism, in which we are born again to God, according "to the custom of the Holy Roman and apostolical

"Church; and with us to preach the word of God to "the English Nation; we will tolerate all your other "customs, though contrary to our own." The Roman and the British systems were therefore different. It seems however, that Augustine and his party gradually succeeded in superseding the Gallican order and usages, and in introducing the Sacramentary of Gregory (or Roman form of observing the Sacrament) and other rites of the Roman Church, into general adoption in England.

Books used in the Services from 600 *to* 1544 A.D.

It is generally admitted that the Liturgical service for the Eucharist in the Anglican Church from 600 A.D. to 1100, was little else than a copy of the Roman written Service book, or Sacramentary of Gregory. About that time each Anglican Bishop assumed a limited degree of liberty in making alterations, or adopting some peculiar usages, in the service book of his own diocese. Thus several different Sacramental Liturgies or Uses arose in different parts of England, and received the names of the respective Dioceses. Thus was formed the Liturgy or 'Use' of York, that of Sarum, Hereford, Bangor, Lincoln, Aberdeen, &c. These books, (whose leading feature was the Eucharistic service of the Sacrament,) though differing in a few particulars, were all duly recognized; that of Sarum or Salisbury was the most widely prevalent.

We are now-a-days so used to find all our Liturgical Services neatly arranged in one compact volume, that few of us realize the multiplied use of sundry books, and the complicated arrangements of the Services pre-

vious to the Reformation. Some writers inform us that those, who officiated, had to use as many as twelve different books in the various Services—culling the parts of the Service from one or other of the books. Those who only specify the most important books in use state, that the Service books of the Church, in addition to the Canon of the Eucharist, were six. (1.) The Bible or a book of Lessons taken from it. (2.) The Psalter from which the Psalms were recited, forming so large a portion of the services. (3.) The Anthem book or collection of sentences from Scripture to be sung by the choir. (4.) The Hymn book, or collection of Latin Hymns, mostly metrical. (5.) The Collectarium, or collection of short collects and prayers. (6.) The Homily book of set discourses or comments of the Fathers or Divines, with the Passionarium and Martyrology, the former being legends of the Saints sufferings, and the latter a more concise enumeration of Saints and Martyrs.

The above books were all in Latin, and could have been intelligible to a very few besides the Monastic order and Clergy.

In the eleventh Century (1073) the ordinary portions taken from the Sacramentary, and from the above six books were combined in One book, called The Breviary.

At the end of that Century, The Breviary having become a large and cumbersome book, by the matter connected with festivals of the Church, and numerous legendary extracts, it was divided into two portions, one for use in the Summer half-year, the other for use in the six Winter months.

It will be remembered, that from the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066 until the dawn of the Reformation in the beginning of the sixteenth Century, was the era when the superstitious perversions of religion assumed their worst shape and darkest hue.

Times of Service from the Primitive age, to the Reformation.

The reader may like to be put in possession of such information as we possess about the hours appointed for worship in the early Church. It does not appear that any definite times had been appointed in the Apostolic age. It was a season of persecution; the earliest Christians had consequently met at times and in places where their meetings might avoid the notice of their persecutors: their assemblies were in the Evening, or before dawn of day.

When persecution relaxed in the third Century their assemblies for worship were more frequent. They retained however, service late in the evening, and before dawn; and several other times of service were added. Tradition records that there were seven hours or stated times of service, even before the date of the work named "The Apostolic Constitutions," (about 320A.D.)

At any rate when monastic Institutions subsequently arose, there were seven hours of service besides Nocturns; viz: Matins, Lauds, Prime, or first hour after sunrise, Tierce, Sext, Vespers, and Compline.*

In some Monasteries they were even more frequent, and some of the services ran to excessive length, having

* Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, pp. 37—40 and 206.

repetitions of twelve, fifteen, twenty, fifty, and even seventy-five Psalms at a time; there were also additional offices,—the Hours of the Holy Spirit, of the Blessed Trinity, of the Cross, and of the Blessed Virgin; but we may omit dwelling on such extravagancies.

The *Nocturns*, kept late in the Evening, retained their original feature, the celebration of the Eucharist,* the Lord's Prayer, a general confession, Lessons from Scripture, Psalmody and responsive versicles.

As years advanced, the Eucharist was transferred to the hour of Matins at Dawn, afterwards to the hour of Prime, and subsequently it has become a noon-day Service.

Matins—a service just before Dawn, and
Lauds—a service at Sunrise.
} Were separate services originally, but afterwards merged into one service.

The Lord's Prayer, Psalmody, and Scripture, Hymns; augmented afterwards by the Eucharist.

Prime, or more general service, at the first hour after sunrise—The Lord's Prayer, Creed, Psalmody, a general confession, with a fuller number of collects or short Prayers, and the Commandments. At a later date the Eucharist was adopted at this Service.

Tierce—or the third hour of day (9 o'clock)
Sext—or sixth hour of day (noon)
} With fixed Psalms.

Vespers—at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Versicles, Psalmody, with fuller number of Collects.

* Some state that the breaking of bread, as recorded in Acts xx. 7, and by Pliny, and Justin, was simply a meal of united brethren, I regard it as a sacred rite.

Compline—about sunset, Lord's Prayer, Creed, Short Lesson from Scripture, Psalmody, and a fuller Lesson from Scripture.

The above times of Service were *more fully observed* only by the Clergy and the Monastic orders. The times at which other worshippers attended, were *Prime*, or *Matins*, and *Vespers*.

Our Prayer book, drawn up at the era of the Reformation 1544, (about 1000 years after the above system of hours had been arranged,) combined the three morning Services into one Morning Service; and the two Afternoon Services into one Evening Service.

Matins had long before been combined with Lauds; and the Nocturns were become obsolete, or represented by the Evening Service, now termed the *Vigil or Eve*, preceding any special Festival or Holy day.

The too frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer in our present services arose out of the fact of the above several services (each of which repeated it as its main feature) becoming thus thrown together. The superstitious tendency of the middle ages adopted a multiplication of the sacred formulary.

I have refrained in this chapter from any theological discussion upon the usages of the Church, contenting myself with recording the details of the observances of the Church previous to the Reformation. The principles involved in some of those usages of the Middle Ages, will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Review of sundry perversions of truth and of erroneous principles, which affected the development of Christianity between the second and the sixteenth Century.

HAVING now given a brief sketch of the facts that are ascertainable in respect to the times, formularies, and outward observances of public worship from the second Century to the sixteenth, it remains to offer some succinct comments upon the errors and corruptions, that were introduced in that long interval of time, and which ultimately rendered the Reformation a matter of imperative necessity.

After the Saviour, His Apostles, and immediate followers had preached the Gospel, and propounded the principles of religious truth and of spiritual life, those principles were left to be worked out in fuller development: the control of any further direct revelation was withdrawn, and there was a cessation of the support of supernatural evidences to the divine mission. Christianity was left to work its way among undisciplined minds, and ignorant crowds. The nature of those uninstructed men was not immediately altered by the principles promulgated among them by the preachers of the Gospel—and the preachers themselves, tho' righteously disposed, were, as I have already said, no longer gifted with miraculous endowments.

The early christians were devout—but at the same time impetuous and indiscreet—highly imaginative, especially those of Asiatic origin, very illogical in the arguments and views, which took possession of their convictions. It is a sorrowful fact to contemplate, that they were ever running into some unwarranted extreme or eccentricity, and adopting erroneous tenets. I believe that it would not be difficult to give a sadly dark panoramic exhibition of errors in doctrine and worship, from the earliest ages of the Church up to the Reformation, and onwards; those errors nevertheless existing concomitantly with the possession of several principal truths, and much devotion of heart. From this mental weakness of the early ages—the proneness of mankind to error—and the ever nascent tendency to pervert and corrupt that which is good—there was considerable scope for evil to be developed; and evil was accordingly developed in quickly increasing proportions. Time and habit added strength and influence to the error previously adopted, and swelled the evil prepossessions with fresh additions, until a climax was reached in the system of the Mediæval Church, which greatly outraged the perceptions of honest minds, and called imperatively for Reformation.

I must pass over innumerable *doctrinal* errors that sprang up, and caused the formation of *heretical bodies* professing Christianity; and I must confine myself to noticing the exhibition of evil principles, which affected the outward regulations of the *Church itself* in Western Europe.

The fact is, that after the end of the first Century, (when the Canon of Scripture closed), there is no safe guidance in the writings of the Fathers, or the doings of the Early Church: and to follow the traditions of those ages with blind reverence, would plunge the adopters of such a course into childish fancies, baseless hallucinations, or gross corruptions.

Even if we look into the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, (Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and Ignatius) we find truth mixed up with wild fictions, and the aggregate advocated with arguments palpably infantile.

The people are taught and encouraged to look up to their Bishop as the representative of God. We find tales of surprising marvel, and ill evidenced miracles implicitly believed, and inculcated on the belief of others; such as few educated children of twelve years old would now-a-days readily admit, or regard as reasonable ground upon which to rest their convictions.

In the Apostolic age itself, after the teaching of the Apostle Paul, there sprang up at Corinth a perverted and disorderly observance of the Lord's Supper, which the Apostle had to denounce in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, and to correct. The Corinthian Church had failed to honour the solemnity with sufficient reverence; and soon in other quarters there arose the opposite evil, viz., a tendency superstitiously to exalt the observance, and to make it the sole and almost exclusive act of public worship.

What was originally a simple rite, with no injunction for *incessant repetition,* was gradually brought into all-

engrossing prominence, and warped from its original signification as a token and pledge of God's covenant mercy, into a propitiatory sacrifice; and this came to be daily offered, nay repeated many times in the same day by multiplication of Masses.

I would not willingly harp upon the mistaken notions of our predecessors, or hurt the feelings of persons who submit their judgement implicitly to the dictation of those, whom they regard as having claims upon their reverence: but if the Church soon after the Apostolic age, instead of bearing the lineaments of truth, exhibited herself in an exaggerated, grotesque, and even hideous mask; and I am called upon to reverence that fictitious impersonation, and to surrender reason and scripture testimony, in deference to the follies and mummeries, which it accredited, I must be excused if I decline to do so; and I must plainly and temperately state the errors and deformities which I repudiate, as having been unauthorised and false accretions, and not the pure ordinances of the Gospel.

We shall see evil already developing itself in many particulars if we take our standing point even in the fourth Century. But in the days of Gregory the Great, when Rome had spread her influence over Western Europe at the end of the sixth Century, we find still more, that spiritual truth was overlaid with many misconceptions and apocryphal additions, while several outward religious observances had become unduly exalted.

The original simple organization of the Primitive

Church had now utterly disappeared. Security and prosperity appear to have opened the door to corruption; the Pagan Emperors had passed away; the sword of persecution had ceased its cruel inflictions. Christianity was adopted as the profession of those who wielded the Sceptres of the Earth. We no longer find a body of single-minded worshippers collected to read and meditate upon the Scriptures; to listen to the Apostles' words in some upper chamber, or "by the River side, where prayer was wont to be made;" or on the Sea coast, (as at Miletus, whither the elders from Ephesus came to hear Paul's farewell, Acts xx.) but we find the externals of worship assuming preponderance. Processions with imposing pomp and choral Litanies entranced the senses, the utterances being continued in the learned languages of the primitive era, which the masses of the modern nations, that were now superseding the ancient Greek and Roman communities, understood not; while spiritual affections and vital godliness but rarely characterized the attendant multitudes.

The Apostolic preacher no longer is found daily discoursing, as before in the school of Tyrannus; impressing the truths of revelation, as in the late evening Ephesian Assembly; or meeting and confuting with simple yet cogent argument the misled philosopher, as at Athens; and the besotted slave of worldliness and sensuous idolater, as at Corinth; but we find those who professed to be the successors of the humble Apostles, surrounded with state and large establishments; exercising prominent influence in wielding and directing the affairs of the world, and pushing their own special

sublunary interests, rather than the advancement of pure religion.

From the 5th to 16th Century we look in vain for the features which the Church bore in its infancy; and we behold in their place the gradual introduction of several alien ordinances and practices. We are startled and grieved at the transformation it has undergone, and we sorrowfully contrast the beautiful simplicity of its youth with the full-blown development and external pageantry which it finally assumes about the eleventh Century; while the deterioration of principle and corruption of practise, penetrate the whole frame of Christianity.

If we contemplate the devotions offered at the throne of grace, we find the simplicity of faith gone,—trust in Jesus superseded by the interposition of the Virgin Mary, and patron Saints, as Mediators. The holy Scriptures kept in their original languages unknown to the people, excepting translations of a few portions of them, and these left to the arbitary interpretation and comments of the Priests, who no longer occupied the post of servants of the Church, but claimed to be lords over it, as personages of superior holiness, and of more than human power.

We find the simple sacraments of the Church, not only multiplied by additional sacraments, but the two simple and significant rites, which had been ordained by Christ himself, warped from their original pure intentions: and instead of continuing to be the tokens and badges of pure Christian faith, overlaid with many superstitious rites and ceremonies, and thus become

dead mummeries, administered often by godless formalists, and received by the worshippers irrespectively of the qualifications which alone could constitute fitting partakers of them.

See what Baptism had become. To adults often a compulsory rite, insisted upon by a conqueror; or thrust upon dependents by a feudal chief, or observed with ceremonies unwarranted by Scripture.

The simple belief of the Gospel, of salvation by Jesus Christ received in the heart, was no longer a sufficient qualification for Baptism of the adult, as it had been when thousands were converted in the primitive Church, or as it was when the Eunuch of Candace requested to be baptized, being convinced by the teaching of Philip; and said in simple earnestness as they went their way "See here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?" and Philip replied "If thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest," and on his saying "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," Philip stayed the chariot, and baptized him.

No longer was the Church content to imitate the simple action of Peter, who when he saw that Cornelius and the Gentiles round him, were actuated by the Holy Ghost, exclaimed "Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we." The priests of the Roman Church from so early a period as the fourth and fifth Centuries downwards required the Candidate for Baptism first to be enrolled in the class of persons called the Catechumens with impositions of hands and prayers,

and there was rightly enough a course of discipline and instruction of the persons to be baptized; but the simple rite was cumbered also with various ceremonies to be performed, signing with the cross, and the consecration and giving of salt as an emblem of purity and sanctification, repeated exorcisms, or prayers and abjurations to cast out Satan, and anointing with holy oil from head to foot: further the renunciation of Satan was made with turning to the West, and then the profession of faith was made turning to the East.

This preliminary part of the service of Baptism, the reception of the Candidates for it with these formalities, became afterwards united with the actual act of Baptism, whether to adults or infants; and they were thenceforth united as one service.

The stated profession of faith at Baptism was no longer confined to simple faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but included all the articles of the Apostles Creed, a requirement beyond what the Saviour and His Apostles had demanded. The Catechumen, or the Sponsor was then, on part of the infant, to express his wish to be baptized, and to promise unfailing obedience to God's Commandments unto the end of his life.

Oil and balsam were by the Romish Church poured into the water, and the benediction of the water was accompanied with much gross superstition; in fact it was believed to become thereby a *holy element* changed in its nature; as the bread and wine were said in the other sacrament, to be transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ.

The exorcism of the water is said to be still practised in the Roman Church, with these words "I exorcise thee, creature of water, by God † the living, by God † the true, by God † the holy, (the Priest making the sign of the cross thrice, viz., once at each of these three crosses,) by God who in the beginning separated thee from the dry land, whose Spirit over thee was borne, who from Paradise commanded thee to flow." Then the Priest divides the water with his hands and sprinkles some towards the four quarters, North, South, East, and West.

To shew to what extent the magical power of the consecrated water was exaggerated, I will quote the words of St. Chrysostom. He has written thus—"Though a man be foul with every vice, even the blackest that can be named, yet should he accidentally fall into the Baptismal pool, he will ascend from the divine waters purer than the beams of noon."

It had been better if the expressions had not been retained in *our* Baptismal Service, referring "to the sanctifying the element of water to the mystical washing away of sin," for though capable of being understood in a sense properly limited to the water being a fitting emblem of spiritual purification, the words are also open to perversion as favouring the superstitious error of past ages, and there are persons disposed to adopt such over-estimate of the fact of being washed by the consecrated water, equally as they over estimate the partaking of the elements of bread and wine in the other Sacrament.

There is no other point of the Institutions of mediæval Christianity upon which it is more requisite that we should have a correct view, than their observance of the Holy Communion. I shall endeavour to submit to my readers a fair estimate of their observance of that rite, neither sparing on the one hand the exposition of ancient error, nor on the other hand, failing to make due allowance for the darkness of the Middle Ages. I wish to suggest to to my readers a just estimate of their practise herein, and not to exaggerate the corruptions that then prevailed.

The primitive Christians did not long retain the simplicity of the ordinance of the Holy Communion, but, both in Baptism, and in this rite, they gradually introduced, (and we may suppose with intention of reverence) additional ceremonies and formal observances. The barbarian nations who overran Europe, and overthrew the Roman Sovereignty and Roman civilization, were men of gross ignorance, whose perceptions could be touched most readily by matters obvious to their sight and bodily senses, and thus were capacitated to fall under the influence of superstition, and to encourage in those who ministered among them the assumption of imposing parade and mystery. And unhappily the Ecclesiastics of the time were capable of asserting, an ungrounded domination over their faith, and willing to exercise this power.

From very early days a tendency existed among Christians to regard the elements of bread and wine, as being Christ's body not in a *figurative* sense, as he had

spoken of them, but *literally* as changed into His body and blood.

As they exaggerated the sanctification of the water used in Baptism, they were still more prone to adopt the view that the bread and wine, when consecrated by the Priest, were no longer emblems, but really the body of Jesus offered to them to eat.

This point once impressed upon their mind, there could be no bar to the excessive reverence adopted in their reception of those emblems; no limit to the fancied virtues of the application of them.

I do not conceive their perversions originated in *mere craft*, or were continued out of dishonest priestly policy. They were not errors of cold and malicious design, contrary to the convictions of those who inculcated them, but they were the unhappy effect of ignorant enthusiasm without the guidance of spiritual judgment. Occasionally men might arise, who destitute of religious principle determined to exalt themselves by guilefully trading upon the general ignorance of the age, and the superstitious tendency of those around them, finding that profit and exaltation of themselves could be gained by imposing upon the multitude and by encouraging their false delusions. But I cannot bring myself to think that this was systematically done, and practised against conviction by the Clerical body. It was rather the unhappy result of ignorance and misapprehension which involved both Priests and people, and truly rendered these the dark ages. Let the motives and principles however be left to a higher tribunal. As to

the matters of fact we cannot but deplore their evil nature and tendency, for they greatly misrepresented the true character of Christianity; and caused external observances to usurp the place of spiritual religion.

The supposed miraculous transubstantiation of the bread and wine, by consecration of the Priest, was accompanied by unnumbered ceremonies, and fond delusions. All the garments of the Priesthood, all the vessels for Holy Service, were anointed with much devotion; an imposing mystical silence was to be kept; the Priest was to approach the Altar with many bowings, signings of the cross, kissing of the Altar. The bread was to be lifted up, called the elevation of the host (hostia i.e. victim.) The people were to kneel in adoration of it, and were to partake of the consecrated bread, but not of the wine: that, as more sacred was reserved for the Priests, and water was to be mingled with it even for them.* The bread was also displayed upon the Altar, or carried about under a rich canopy in pompous procession through the streets; and the rite is still accompanied by these unnecessary additions in Roman Catholic Countries.

The Communion upon Saints days was accompanied by prayer to the particular Saints, or the Virgin Mary, to render the sacrifice (so they called it) acceptable by *their* merits and intercession.

* Water was mixed with the wine even in the second Century, (see Pliny's letter to Trajan,) I see no harm in its being so mixed, unless it be done superstitiously. In fact it renders it a more fitting beverage as it was in the first ages.

Could anything be more different from the Saviour's simple and unassuming institution? Could any method be adopted having a stronger tendency to draw off attention from spiritual religion to mere external religionism? Could the attention and gratitude of the worshippers for the one all sufficent sacrifice of Christ be more injuriously misdirected, than by making the validity of the rite to rest upon the Priest, that *he should offer up a fresh* sacrifice of the holy Saviour's body, to obtain pardon for them; or that its efficacy should depend upon the mediation of the Mother of Jesus, and the Saints?

The repetition of the ordinance was now carried to the extremity of excess. Not only was it performed daily, but multitudinous Masses were enjoined on several occasions, and on the groundless plea of thus obtaining remission of punishment for the dead, and ultimately made a matter of unholy traffic by the Priesthood. Without giving way to vituperative censure we surely must allow that the ordinance was, by such customs, wholly misrepresented in its character, and perverted from its right application.

A combination of circumstances had contributed in the early and Middle Ages, to give undue exaltation to the Priesthood. The fact itself of their being stewards of religious truth and spiritual pastors, exposed them to the temptation of assumption. The unhappy perversion respecting regeneration being infallibly secured by the ordinance of Baptism, and respecting their power to offer or withhold the repetition of Christ's sacrifice in

the Communion, almost thrust them into a false position; and with the weakness of human nature they but too readily acquiesced in putting forward pretensions, which the ignorance and superstition of those around them were only too ready to recognize.

The corner stone was placed to their undue exaltation by the assumption of the power of *absolution*. We will endeavour to trace the rise and progress of this corruption. The early Christians failed to distinguish between Christ's divine authority with the power to forgive sins which he specially conceded in a certain degree to His Apostles, and the inferior authority of uninspired men. From a sound idea, and an authorized power of declaring God's willingness to grant forgiveness and pardon upon repentance, it gradually advanced in the hands of the latter, till it became an unscriptural privilege of the Priesthood to dispense such forgiveness.

The sacerdotal benediction of penitents, or *Declaratory*, absolution, was probably the first form in which it manifested itself. *Precatory* Absolution, or prayer for the absolution of a sinner, was prevalent for a long time before it assumed finally the character of entire and unconditional absolution accompanied with its converse viz., *Excommunication*, or utter rejection from all rites, or benefits of the Church and from all sympathy of the Christian brotherhood.

By the doctrine of baptismal regeneration infallibly connected with the functions of the Priesthood, and by their assuming to offer afresh the Sacrifice of Christ; the laity had been placed in dependence upon them;

and when they became the depositaries of auricular confession, and the arbiters of giving or refusing absolution for the sins confessed, their spiritual authority overstepped all limit, or possible control : exercising that power in this its worst phase, they practically assumed for themselves a mediatorial position between God and man, and passed off their authority as vicariously divine.

To such as confessed to the Priest, the absolution from the twelfth to the fifteenth Century was expressed in these words, "I absolve thee in the name of the "Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and I "grant to thee, all the good thou hast done, (specifying "a long list of prayers, abstinences, watchings, pilgrim-"ages,) the passions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the "merits of the glorious and blessed Virgin Mary, and all "other Saints, for the remission of thy sins, the increase "of thy merits, and the attainment of everlasting re-"wards, &c., &c."

The pretended power was dearly valued and clung to, by both Clergy and laity. By this priestly absolution the *People* were so grossly deluded, that they believed a gate was thereby opened to them into heaven, even if they had not the faith and holiness which the Gospel and their conscience enjoined; and the *Priests* felt their consequence and authority vastly increased, and they turned this into a fertile source of wealth and aggrandisement.

One of the worst features of mediæval Christianity was the alarming range of error then prevalent as to the extent and substance of faith requisite to salvation.

There were two extremes of requirement. From the laity provided they were not at variance with ecclesiastics, a very limited and superficial profession procured for them the encomiums and favourable regard of the Church. Tradition has recorded that, even after a questionable life, a short shrift, especially if accompanied with ample gratuities to the Church, would open the portals of heaven. We are familiar with the poet's terse description of the facility of access to salvation even in the moment of death, given in these words,

" Between the stirrup and the ground
" He mercy sought,—and mercy found."

On the other hand, the acceptance of the innumerable dogmas of the Church, without cavil or question, was required on the part of those, who would share the honors and distinction of ecclesiastical preferment. Recusants were controlled by fire and faggot. Too daring inquirers into questionable points were tamed into acquiescence by denunciations with bell, book, and Candle. It was required on pain of eternal damnation that every article, and tenet of belief held by the Church, should be, without exception, or qualification, implicitly adopted, even if the adoption strongly revolted the conscience and common sense. Transubstantiation of the bread and wine, trans-clementation of the water for Baptism, and other Roman errors have already been adverted to.

Imitation of the outward parade of the former dispensation, and the unquestioning adoption of the

judaical sentiments of the Old Testament, were inculcated so as to warp and pervert the sentiments and principles of the Christian worshipper. The repetition of the Psalter, to the extent of twenty, thirty, or more Psalms at a time was practised; and the Psalter, still retains a disproportionate prominence even in our public worship.

The asseveration of the Speculative theories and dogmas of the Schoolmen; the affirmation of the innumerable propositions in the Creed, Articles, and Canons; the implicit submission to the authority and judgement of the Pope as infallible, to the decrees of ecclesiastical councils, and to every sentiment laid down in the ritual of the Church; all these were proofs of the mental humiliation to which the men of that dark era were subjected.

By either one or the other of the above extremes, (too lax, or too rigid requirements) the liberty, the responsibility, and the dignity of the individual believer's intellect and faith was impaired or utterly extinguished.

By the withdrawal of the Holy Scripture as a whole book, from the laity, and the unquestioning deference and consent, which were demanded for expositions which the Priesthood placed upon those portions which they were pleased to communicate; the laity were forced to see every thing through the spectacles of ecclesiastics, whether the laics were gifted with only a short range of vision, or endowed with perception that reached beyond the range of their instructors.

This error of the encroachment of authority has not been utterly eradicated up to the present day.

The false assumption of the Roman Clergy became at last so notorious, in connection with the sale of indulgences in the beginning of the sixteenth Century, that a searching inquiry was instituted by those who doubted the propriety of such customs, and the result was that a numerous body of Christians shook off the ungodly yoke of Rome, and assumed the name and position of the Protestant or Reformed Church—not a *new* Church altogether, as some would represent it to be, but a continuation of what had been sound in the faith and worship of Christians, pruned and cleared from the abuses of the Dark Ages.

I have now commented briefly upon the chief perversions of the Mediæval Church, and explained the evil principles connected with their administration of the ordinances of religion. The thought may occur to some that such a review hardly enters with propriety into the consideration of the formation of the Prayer Book. But upon a little patient reflection the reader will admit that such examination of principles lies at the root of the matter, for we must suspect all modifications of public worship, that are based upon wrong principle, to be corrupt; and must regard all revision and corrections of our formularies that tend to exclude false principles, as most valuable improvements. We have therefore rejected the Breviary upon the former ground, and adopted the successive improvements in the Service Books of King Edward VI, substantiated in the main by his successors.

Few modern worshippers among us are aware of the load of unscriptural and superstitious formularies and ceremonies that have been cleared away from the public ritual by the Reformation. The mere deliverance from such formularies and ceremonial observances is a great blessing, but the deliverance from the unsound principles involved in them is a far greater one.

If any *retrogressive* steps have subsequently been taken which re-introduce, or tend to recognize again corruptions, which have been for a time repudiated and set aside; or to interpret passages in our Liturgical Services in a questionable sense, it will be the duty of all of us to labour for the removal of such passsges as may be made stumbling blocks to our brethren, and to stop all such depravations of our Liturgical Services.

CHAPTER III.

Preliminary dawn of corrective principles. The Reformation, and its progressive stages in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. The gradual adoption of English in the Public Services, and of the whole Bible translated into English, and the consequent renunciation of errors.

HAVING indicated the great evils which had become prevalent, and which rendered a Reformation necessary, we will now proceed to review the several stages of the progress of that Reformation, specially those in connection with public worship.

The corrective force of truth, through the faithful preaching of the first heralds of Reformation, had won its way gradually onward from Wickliffe's time in the fourteenth Century. The art of printing in the fifteenth Century helped greatly to the dissemination of truth, and thus to dissipate the clouds of superstition and error; and the translation of the Scriptures, gradually proceeding, confirmed and established the bright revival of Gospel light. Those in authority soon saw the impropriety of continuing the public services of the Church in the Latin language, of which the great body of the worshippers were then entirely ignorant; and the thirst for religious enlightenment had been encouraged by sundry devotional treatises in English, and by partial

translations of Scripture which had been widely circulated from the fourteenth Century downwards, of which I shall presently give an explicit account. At the same time the offering up of superstitious prayers and mediatorial honours to the Virgin Mary, and to innumerable Saints, was shewn under the beams of gospel enlightenment, to be too gross error to be longer continued, as it practically superseded the worship of God and the Saviour.

The immediate scope of this little work being to sketch the formation of the Prayer Book, we need not dwell upon the general or the political bearing of the Reformation, or upon the instrumentality which God was pleased to employ, or to overrule, for the purifying of the Church.—We are thankful for the Providence that so ordered it, that even the passions of the king and his contentions with the Pope, were made to subserve the great and glorious work of the Reformation. Henry VIII. took the first and the important step of disclaiming the Pope's Supremacy over religious matters and persons in England, (1534), and became afterwards the instrument of directing forward the march of Reformation.

In 1536 he caused a Bible in Latin and English to be placed in each Parish Church; and the Clergy were to exhort Parents to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in English, and every Clergyman holding preferment was to give a regular course of instruction in those formularies.

In 1537-8 fresh injunctions were issued for the Clergy

to give public instruction in religious truth, and for the abolition of sundry Romish corruptions.

In 1540 a commission of divines was appointed to reform the ritual, and offices of the Church as they stood in the Latin Breviaries. It was indeed only a partial and limited correction of the Romish formularies, —not so great as to require the re-issue of fresh books, —only making amendment of the old ones in use. In fact there was no new impression of the Romish Breviaries, or of the books of ritual character during the reign of Henry VIII. But there was much preparation for such a work to follow afterwards; for in 1544 the king and his ministers ordered the Prayers for Processions or Litanies, to be put into English, and to be used so in public. And after several similar works had been published by private authority in 1530, 1535, and 1539, a Book of Prayers called the King's Primer was issued in 1545, for the furtherance of a regular system of religious instruction, and for the adoption of Prayer in English, throughout the country. It was not immediately to supersede the Breviary, but was rather for supplementary private devotion.

This Primer comprised as it were the infant form of our English Prayer Book. It contained in English, The Creed—The Lord's Prayer—The Ten Commandments —Prayers, or Collects—Versicles and Responses—select Passages of Scripture for Morning and Evening Devotions. The Litany (which had existed in English for 150 years,) was again set forth, curtailed of many objectionable clauses. Those portions of the Litany which had previously consisted of supplications to innu-

merable Saints, Pontiffs, &c., to pray for the worshipper, were now limited to three supplications, viz: one to the Virgin Mary, one to angels and archangels, one to Patriarchs and Prophets, Martyrs and Pontiffs, &c., &c. &c., imploring them to pray for us.

Several prayers were added, taken from Scripture, chiefly from the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; also a devout Prayer which was familiarly known as commencing in Latin with the words "O bone Jesu": Prayers for the time of death; Confessions to be made to God. These formularies were designed chiefly for private devotion.

The above were the principal early movements made in the reign of Henry VIII. toward Reformation of the worship of God.

Upon the accession of the gracious Prince Edward VI., who had benefited by the guidance of Cranmer and other divines well established in gospel truth, and who found some of the greatest hindrances already cleared from his path, by the thorough shaking which the Papal system had received in Henry's reign, active measures were at once taken by Cranmer, with the Royal sanction, and notable progress was made in purifying and better disciplining the Church, and judicious steps were taken for rightly organizing the Protestant Establishment.

Passing over the general features of Reformation, we must confine ourselves to the Reforms connected with public worship. In the first year of Edward's reign a Commission was issued to Bishops and other learned

divines to compose an uniform order of *Communion* according to the rules of Scripture, and the usages of the Primitive Church. This they did in four months; and the Office, being completed, at once superseded the Romish Service of the Mass; and the Lord's Supper was thenceforth administered to the Laity in both bread and wine. Still a great portion of the Service was left in Latin, in compliance with the prepossessions of the Romanists.

In May 1548, the same Divines were empowered by a new Commission to prepare a Liturgy, and draw up forms of public worship in English, for the Sundays and Holy days, and also occasional Services for Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Burial of the dead, and other special occasions; and with these the forementioned office of the Holy Communion was joined, after many alterations and amendments. This collection of Services was approved in convocation, and confirmed by the Parliament and by the King in 1548; and came into general use in 1549. Very many portions of the Services were passages translated from the Breviaries and Missals previously in use, the objectionable parts only being removed, while new matter was introduced from the reformed Churches of the Continent. Melancthon and Bucer had there aided Herman of Cologne in his scheme of reformed doctrine and discipline; and improved forms were by their counsel introduced into the English Prayer Book from the older Liturgy of Nuremberg.

This first Service Book of Edward VI. was the first complete English Prayer Book in any thing like its

present shape. It was indeed substantially The Book of Common Prayer which we now possess. The commencement of the Service however was with the Lord's Prayer. (The portion that now stands previous to the Lord's Prayer not being introduced before the second Service Book was published in 1552.) The Ave Maria, or Salutation to the Virgin Mary, and a prayer for the intercession of the Saints, which had previously been used in opening the Service, were now discontinued :— several of the Prayers and Creeds stood in different arrangement to their present order. A brief statement will be made in the Appendix of the sources besides the Breviary, whence several of our formularies were taken. It it true that the majority of them came from the Roman Liturgy, but some came from the Gallican, and a few from the Oriental Liturgies.

There was at the same time a great reformation in the externals of public worship by the removal of many Popish customs and superstitious observances; such as the elevation of the Bread and Wine to be adored— the burning of incense—the ceremonials of making frequent signs of the Cross—bowings—genuflections —kissing the Altar, and the paten, or sacred plate; all these were greatly reduced, if not entirely abolished.

The above reforms were as much as the partial enlightenment, at the beginning of Edward's reign, admitted: and the leaders of the Reformation felt a natural reluctance to hurt the cherished prepossessions, and habitual associations of their countrymen; and in refraining from doing so, they shewed their prudence.

I must now make a brief interruption of the history of events, in order to place before my reader an explicit statement, respecting the under-current of religious information which had been going on, even during the time that the Mediæval Church still persevered in having all its Services in Latin, and refused to communicate the volume of the Scriptures in the mother tongue of the people.

I must devote a particular section to this subject, as it may be useful to counteract any mispprehension of the reader, who might think that because the Church did not furnish the people with the Scriptures in English, or with Services in English, that therefore the people were altogether destitute of devotional books in their own tongue. I must therefore now proceed to shew, that,

The number of devotional formularies in English for private use was gradually augmented from the seventh Century, until in the sixteenth Century, the English Prayer Book and a complete translation of the whole Bible were introduced in public worship.

The public worship of the Primitive Church had been in Greek or Latin, according to the locality in which it received formation; and when missionaries introduced it into other countries, they continued the services, as much as the case admitted, in the language of the Mother Church, whence they came. From very early times however, the want was sensibly felt of having devotional manuals in the language of the people, among whom new Churches were planted. Accordingly

we find that, although Ecclesiastics persevered in having the *public* Services in this country in the Latin language, formularies of worship were from time to time made for *private* edification: and translations, first of short portions of Scripture, next of longer ones, or of the several books of Scripture were getting into circulation. Bede, at the commencement of the eighth Century, translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. King Alfred caused notes in English, or short comments on the Scriptures, and on the Service books to be issued. Many written expositions in English of the Creed, The Lord's Prayer, and The Ten Commandments, of very early date, are still extant. To these manuals are often found appended short popular abstracts—such as The Seven Works of Mercy—The Seven Sacraments of Grace—The Two Precepts of the Gospel; and further additions in English were sometimes made, such as—The Office of the Virgin—The Seven Penitential Psalms—The Litany —The *Dirge*, or Office for the Dead, (so called because its first Antiphon, or Response, commenced with the word *Dirige*, (Direct, or, make thy way straight before my face.)* Psalm v. 8.

The special or divine office of the Virgin Mary was accompanied by the Litany in English, and English Prayers were mingled with the Latin ones; English devotional hymns are found attached also to the Psalms. Almost all these devotional portions in English were

* The Placebo and the Requiem—portions of the Funeral Rites—were also so named from their first key words. The *Placebo* from a verse in the Latin version of the Psalm cxvi. 9, "I will please, or walk in well-pleasing, before the Lord." The *Requiem* so called from Requies ("Rest eternal be given to them)."

combined in the Primer or book of Primary instruction about the year 1400.

Thus we see that the Litany and other portions of the Services had been circulated in English for 150 years before the Reformation, and doubtless were preliminary aids towards it. But though this concession was granted for private use, the Mediæval Church all along retained the public worship in Latin: the modern Roman Church still does so, though it admits translations of Prayers, Litanies, and Hymns for private use, in addition to the regular official books of the Church.

The Reformers adopted the wiser course of utilizing all the best and soundest of the Latin formularies of the Church by turning them into English, and thus employing them to greater edification in public worship.

My readers may next like to have a compendious account of what can be ascertained respecting the translation and circulation of portions of the Holy Scriptures, first in the Roman Church in England up to the sixteenth Century; and afterwards in the Reformed Anglican Church.

I have before named that Lessons were read in several of the Canonical hours: and in the Sunday Services of the Mass, the Epistle and Gospel of the day were read: but I must more fully explain that it is usual for the very shortest extracts from Scripture to be called "little chapters"; and in the Services or Offices of the Monastic Class two or four, or at most six verses, were habitually called the Lections or Lessons of a Service.

No statement however will make the matter so clear to an English reader as giving a positive specimen how the reading of Scripture was actually carried out in those Offices and Services.—

Now take an instance—There were three Lections in each of the three Nocturns for the first Sunday in Advent. The following account of them is translated from a copy from the Latin Salisbury Breviary.

At the first Nocturn—on the eve before nine o'clock.

After various Antiphons, Psalms, &c., had been recited aloud, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were to be said in private repetition by the whole Choir, (and they were always thus inaudibly repeated except at Mass). The Clerk or reader then requested the Priest to invoke a blessing before reading the word. The Priest then said "May the Eternal Father bless us perpetually." The reader then proceeded to recite the first two verses of the first chapter of Isaiah.

1st *v.*—"The vision of Isaiah the son of Amos." &c.

2nd *v.*—"Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth," &c.

Then he added these words—"Thus saith the Lord, be ye turned unto me and ye shall be saved."—and these words were repeated at the close of each Lection from the Prophets: but Lections from the other books of Scripture were to be closed by the following words—"Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us."

Then followed a kind of Choral Dialogue.

Directions are next given in the Sarum Breviary for a Respond and Anthems.*

Respond.—"Beholding from afar I see the power of God coming, and a cloud covering the whole earth. Tell us if it is thou who art about to reign over thy people Israel."

Sundry interlocutions follow.

1st v. of Anthem.—"O all ye inhabitants of the earth and children of men, rich and poor together,"

All the Choir—"Go ye out to meet him."

2nd v. of Anthem—"Hear thou who rulest over Israel, thou who leadest Joseph like a sheep."

Choir—"Tell us, if it is thou who art about to reign,"

Other Voices—"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son," &c.

Choir—"Over thy people Israel."

Then again the first Respond appears to have been repeated—"Beholding from afar I see the power of God coming" &c. &c.

All the above additions overlaid the reading of only two simple verses from Scripture.

* I may as well explain for the English reader the special meaning of the following ecclesiastical words—ANTIPHON, RESPOND, ANTHEM.

The *Antiphon*, denotes a kind of Musical Chant, as a variation to some other note that has been expressed; correctly applied, it is the opposite to *symphony*. Still, the subject sung is appropriate, and corresponding to the subject expressed in the context.

A *Respond* is an Echo, or corresponding utterance to what has preceded.

An *Anthem* is a Musical Chant, elucidatory of the subject in hand. It is said to be derived from the French word "Antienne";—but I doubt it.

In the second Lection two more verses were read.

3rd v.—"The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib," &c.

4th v.—"Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity," &c., "they have forsaken," &c.,
followed by "Thus saith the Lord, be ye turned unto me, and ye shall be saved."

The Respond to which was—"I beheld in the vision of the night, and lo in the clouds of heaven the Son of Man came, and there was given unto him a kingdom, and honour; and all people, tribes, and languages shall serve him."

Verse of Anthem—"His power is an everlasting power, which shall not be taken away; and his dominion shall not be diminished. The kingdom and honour are given unto him."

In the third* reading in the same Service two more verses from the same chapter of Isaiah.

5th v.—"Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt," &c.

6th v.—"From the sole of the foot even unto the head," &c.

The Respond—The angel Gabriel was sent to Mary the Virgin espoused to Joseph, announcing the word to her; and the Virgin was afraid at the radiance. Fear not, Mary, thou hast found grace with the Lord. Behold thou shalt conceive and bring forth, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest.

* The reader will observe that there were three Lections or readings in each Nocturn.

Verse of Anthem—"And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever." "And he shall be called," &c. &c.

At the risk of being tedious I will, for the purpose of giving an explicit account, translate the Lections that followed in the second and third Nocturns of Advent.

The second Nocturn which service was held between nine o'clock and midnight, was prefaced by a verse from Scripture, "But thou Bethlehem, are not the least among the Princes of Judah, for from thee shall come forth a ruler over my people Israel, (Micah v. 9.) "He shall save His people from their sins," (Matt. i. 21.)

Then came half verses of Scripture as Anthems.

It had then Lections from the Sermon of the Blessed Bishop Maximus, after which—

The first Lection from Scripture of the second Nocturn consisted of a mixed quotation from Matt. xxiv. 27. Luke xvii. 24. and Matt. xvii. 41., "For as the lightning, &c., so shall the coming of the Son of Man be." "Two men shall be on that night in one bed, the one" &c., "Two women shall be grinding," &c.

The Respond—"Hail Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee, the Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee," &c.

Verse—"How shall these things be? and the angel answering, said to her, "the Spirit of the Lord," &c.

The second Lection of the second Nocturn was rather

a brief comment explaining the difficulty, why the Lord had spoken of His coming "*in that night,*" whereas he should come with the splendour of day, by an assertion that Antichrist would have diffused the darkness of night over the minds of men previous to Christ's coming.

Then followed a verse about Mary the Mother, yet always a Virgin, which I need not translate in full.

The third Lection of the Nocturn—An original address about Christ dispelling the aforesaid darkness.

Respond—"We are waiting for the Lord Christ, who shall re-create our humble body, that it may be made like to his glorious body."

Then the various clauses of this statement were repeated by different voices as anthems, with Gloria Patri, &c.

The third Nocturn, or Service held before three o'clock, a.m.

The Antiphon. "The night is far spent, the day is at hand, let us therefore cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light. (Psalm xix.) —"The heavens are telling," &c.

Another Antiphon—"It is now time to awake from sleep," &c. (Psalm xx.)—"The Lord hear thee," &c. Three verses from Phil. iv. 4—6.—"Rejoice in the Lord always, let your moderation be known," &c. Another Psalm, Anthem, and Respond.

After the usual formalities the first Lection of the third Nocturn, viz.—

The first two verses of 21st chapter Matthew's Gospel, recording that Jesus sent from Bethphage two disciples

to bring the ass and a colt. To this was appended *in the same tone* a strained comment upon their mission to Bethphage, "the house of the mouth or jaws," a village of the Priests a type of confession, situated near Mount Olivet, where was the light of science, and rest from labour and sorrow. The two disciples being sent was in reference to two missions, one to the Gentiles another to the Circumcision (the Jews ;) or they might represent the knowledge of truth, and its cleansing power ; or they were to typify the sacrament of two-fold love, towards God, and towards our neighbour."

The Respond to which was from Jer. xxxi. 10., *with slight variance at end.*—"Hear the word of the Lord, ye Gentiles, and announce it to the ends of the earth, tell it out among the isles that are afar, our Saviour will come."—

Followed by verse of an Anthem, "Tell it out," &c.

The second Lection of the third Nocturn, continued to descant upon 21st Matt., "Go into the fort opposite to you," meant it was opposed to the Apostles, not willing to receive the yoke of their teaching ; and their mission signified that preaching the Gospel should penetrate the walls of all strong holds. "And ye shall find an ass and her colt." The preachers entering the world found the young nations bound in chains of falsehood, for each was bound in the cords of their own sins, and this not only in the Gentiles, but among the Jews also, for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God."

Respond.—"Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, saith the Lord, and his name shall be called wonderful; the mighty God."—

Anthem.—Upon the throne of David shall he sit, &c. And he shall be called, "wonderful." &c. Isa. ix. 6—7.

The third Lection of the third Nocturn continued to descant upon the same verses, thus—"The ass which was a bearer of the yoke and broken in, signifies the Jewish synagogue, which had borne the yoke of the law; the free and wantonly-sportive colt, the Gentile nations; because none of their teachers by mere reason had introduced any bridle of correction, which could restrain their tongues from evil, or bring them into the narrow path of life; none had conferred upon them by their arguments the garments of salvation, by which the people could be cheered and spiritually fostered. For man forsooth could sit upon the colt if any employing reasonable coercion had been able to restrain and correct his wildness."

After several interlocutions and responsive anthems the Priest was to say, "Send forth the Lamb of God, the Lord and ruler of the earth," &c., &c. *Followed by a respond,* "O God make haste to help us."

This fragmentary and interlocutory form of reading, though it might have an awakening effect on those who well understood Latin and recitative chanting; must have been devoid of edification to the unlearned worshipper, and must have approached the character

of a sacred oratorio, rather than that of a reading of Scripture for edification.* It is so remote and different from any reading of Scripture now practised by us, that I have deemed an example requisite to make the matter clear to popular readers.

It is true that the above were merely Monastic Services, and though the above description may accurately delineate the method of Scripture reading in them, it must be remembered that in their Sunday worship, good selections were made for the Epistles and Gospels of each Lord's day, and these were read not only at the Mass, but at Matins also on that day, and most probably the same Epistle amd Gospel were repeated on any festival or Saint's day, that occurred during the week.

In referring to the Liturgical Services of the Mediæval Church, one cannot but be struck with one or two remarkable features.

One of the great characteristic faults of the Mediæval Church was, that they assumed too low a level for a Church of *believers*, while at the same time they proclaimed themselves infallibly regenerate, and children of God. Thus two irreconcilable axioms seem put together in their Services. The first is that they are always children of God by the rites of the Church; but their acknowledgment of their character at the same time is that they are "miserable offenders": instead of taking the position of believers—viz., miserable when

* Cardinal Quignonez sensible of the imperfection of this kind of reading, endeavoured in 1536 to introduce in the Roman Church the reading of Scripture in longer continuous portions, but his proposition failed in a few years.

they prove offenders. Instead of being addressed as partakers of more or less degrees of grace, and having the aid of the Holy Spirit, they are always invited to crave for repentance. The Confiteor, or confession in general terms,—the Miserere, or petition for mercy,—and the Absolution in general terms, formed part of their Matins, and of Compline, as well as an indispensable part of their Mass. (This should have been expressed above in p. 28 and 29. See also the Note to my second chapter, on the subject of absolution, in the Appendix.)

The Reformers followed unhappily too closely in the same track, and retained these stereotyped expressions; and modern Bishops and Ecclesiastics dare not step off the line that their forefathers laid down; and so use language at variance with the vital religion and christian experience of many of the worshippers. They keep to the two irreconcilable axioms declared by the Articles and Catechism, that they all are children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven: yet when they lead their congregation in prayer, they invariably characterize them as all sinners, needing to repent, and to be converted, in order that they may be saved.

Another noticeable feature, of a better class, is that their Psalmody was not a continuous course of Psalms, but here a Psalm, and there a Psalm, selected with the thought of being appropriate, though sometimes wrenched in its application.

It must be admitted that this portion of Scripture (the Psalms) was plentifully read by them. They seem

to have only too closely confined themselves to the recitation of it.

Having now finished my parenthetic description of the method, in which they used to read the Latin Scriptures;—and my remarks upon a few features of their Liturgy, I must return to the topic of the translations of Scripture, where I left it in page 56. I there only considered the subject of translation as having been a help to the intelligence of the private devotions of the people; we must now look at the topic in another light,—viz: as preparing the public mind for the great effort of the Reformation.

List of some of the earliest translations of Scripture, &c.,—continued from p. 56.

In the year 1200 the Anglo-Normans had translated into prose in their own dialect the Psalter and Canticles of the Church. A prose version of the whole Bible is said to have been possessed by them in the thirteenth Century. There was also a Metrical Paraphrase of the Gospels, and of the Acts.*

We find that there is at Cambridge a Memoriale Credentium, of the date 1330, "writte in English tónge, drawn out of Holi Writte and holi Doctors. It gives an account of the seven plagues of Egypt, the giving of the Law, expositions of the Ten Commandments, and sundry popular treatises of the day.

In the fourteenth Century, Wycliffe translated the Bible and the Apocrypha.

* Hardwick's Middle Ages. pages 96 and 317.

About 1400 the Primer was first published.—see page 57.

In the fifteenth Century Printing multiplied the circulation of the translated portions.

In 1522 Tyndale published a translation of the New Testament.

In 1530 Marshall's Primer was issued.

In 1535 Marshall's Primer was again printed: and Coverdale published his translation of the Bible.

1539. The great Bible, or Cranmer's.

1540. The English Bible set up in all the Churches.

1544. The Litany used in English in our Churches.

1545. King Henry's Primer.

1547. The first book of Homilies, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels and Acts in English, set up in Churches.

1549. The first Service Book in English introduced, having the Scripture portions in English.

The Service was henceforth conducted wholly in English; and the times of Service (no longer following the arrangement of the Roman Breviary) instead of being Matins, Prime, Vespers, &c., were the same as those observed for the Morning and Afternoon Services now in use.

A great deal however yet remained to be done, which soon became evident. By the close of 1549 exceptions were urged by foreign Protestants, (Calvin, Alasco, and others) against some of the contents of the First Service Book, as savouring too much of superstition. In 1550

as the new Book contained no form of consecrating and ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the Commissioners drew up Offices for that purpose; and were instructed afterwards to revise the whole book, and to introduce such alterations as were requisite. Cranmer was assisted in this work by Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr. These two had come from the troubles in Germany, by Cranmer's invitation, to England; Bucer had become Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and Peter Martyr held the same important office at Oxford. Cranmer completed his undertaking by the end of 1551, and thus the second Service Book of Edward VI. after receiving the sanction of both houses of Parliament, came forth in the beginning of 1552, and it was ordered that this new Service Book should be adopted in general use by the first of November 1552. The reader will do well to notice that this was only eight months before the death of Edward VI., when the restoration of the Roman Catholic forms of worship under Queen Mary ensued.

In this second Service Book, sundry Roman ceremonies were now discarded, such as anointing with oil previous to Baptism, and anointing the sick.

The commencement of both Morning and Evening Services was altered, there being on this occasion *introduced*, all that precedes the Lord's Prayer, viz., the Sentences, the Exhortation, the Confession, and the declaration of Absolution. These were copied at Calvin's suggestion from a form of Prayer which had been used by him at Strasburg, and afterwards at

Geneva.* In the Communion Service were now omitted the prayer for sanctification of the bread and wine by the Holy Spirit and the Word, the prayer of oblation that followed the consecration of the elements, and the custom of mixing water with the wine. The bread was no longer required to be unleavened, but simply the best bread in common use; and the elements were named as, "these thy creatures bread and wine," and whereas the two sentences previously used in distributing the bread and wine, viz., "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve," &c., and "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve," &c., were considered to recognize the doctrine of the real presence, these forms were wholly discontinued, and others substituted viz. "Take and eat this in remembrance," &c., and "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood," &c.

When we come to the Revision in Elizabeth's time 1559, we shall find that both the former clauses were resumed in use, as well as the latter ones continued; this being done to please both Roman and Protestant partizans.

Elizabeth while yet a Princess expressed with characteristic caution her sentiment on the subject, according to the old lines attributed to her;

"Christ was the word and spake it,
"He took the bread and brake it,
"And what the Lord did make it,
"That I believe and take it."

* There had existed a similar penitential commencement of the Services in the Eastern Church.—See Freeman's Principles of Divine Service, p. 67.

The general Service was, according to this second Service Book of King Edward, to be said in that part of the Church where the people best could hear; the vestments were simplified. The daily Service closed with the three collects of Morning Prayer: the Commandments were now introduced at the opening of the Lord's Supper for communicants, as suggestive of penitence and humiliation, and sundry minor improvements of transposition and alteration were also made.

Having thus briefly noticed the improvements of the second Service Book of King Edward in 1552, I must detain my reader with a fuller examination of two important alterations, one respecting prayers for the Dead, then finally excluded from the Liturgy; the other the attempted introduction of a better Church Catechism.

Upon Masses and Prayers for the Dead.

Upon the first of these topics I have to observe, that though the cessation of Masses for the dead, and of prayers for them, had long been desired by the Reformers, it was not effectually enforced till the issue of this second Service Book; such prayer was now removed even from the Burial Service; and at the conclusion of the prayer which is now denominated the prayer for the Church Militant, as well as in the Burial Services, a change was introduced substituting for the previously used Prayer for the Dead, a chastened desire for "grace to follow the good example of thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear."

The assumption that the living could interpose to alter the condition of the souls departed, had been one of the greatest delusions of the Middle Ages.

It has now lost its hold upon the Protestant Community: but for a long period it exercised a powerful influence upon the minds and sentiments of the people of all ranks, and formed a marked feature in several of the Liturgical Services, and was interwoven deeply in the relations between the clergy and laity. The erroneous theory is now displaced from the fatal prominence it had attained. It rested upon two main props, which our Church classes with other fond inventions grounded on no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God, viz., the doctrine of an intermediate state of purgatory, to cleanse away from the *believer* the stains and corruptions, that should have accrued to his soul during his life; and the assumption that prayers for the dead, and the sacerdotal masses, and the intercession of saints could avail to shorten the duration of the believer's sufferings in that purgatory.

I conceive that the original form of delusion was limited to these bounds, viz.—that leaving the state of the *unbeliever and unconverted* altogether out of the question, the Roman Church proclaimed that there was in Purgatory a remedial and sanitary discipline by suffering for such as had died in grace, though not thoroughly purged from their sins. This doctrine had been held for several Centuries, and was affirmed at the Council of Trent, which sat from 1545 to 1563; for in 1562 it was affirmed that Masses may be offered, not only for the sins and wants of christians while on earth, but also for those who, having departed this life, are still in need of purification.

The popular mind is not apt to discern nice distinc-

tions, nor correctly to estimate restrictive clauses, such as "being in a state of grace." They deemed that all who professed to be churchmen, and received its rites, (and the Priest confirmed their opinion) were in a state of grace. So they understood that remission of all sins, however grievous, was obtainable in purgatory, provided the co-operation of the Saints and the Priesthood interposed: and therefore the doctrine of purgatory and priestly intercession acted with fearfully extended fatality. It became a soporific to compose the conscience of the awakened sinner, and a stupifying drug to steep in fatal lethargy the ignorant and the unrepentant.

If it had been legitimate comfort that the Priests of the Mediæval Church could so offer to the laity—through the interposition of Saints, and through their own Masses and prayers—not a word should be said against it; but they were not warranted by Scripture, nor justified in holding out such hopes. They partially set aside the perfect efficacy of Christ's all-sufficient atonement, and they practically supplemented it with a feigned device of the efficacy of the Church's rites and prayers, to deliver from the consequences of sin. It is sad to record how fearfully they abused the credulity of the laity, and made a market of their delusion for their own aggrandisement, by the sale of indulgences, and by dispensing pardons to those who contributed to the revenues of the Church; forgetting that no man may deliver his brother, nor make agreement unto God for him.—(Psalm xlix. 7.)

As the subject nearly touches our tenderest sympa-

thies, we will dwell on it a little longer, and consider what ground there exists for the milder form of offering up prayer on behalf of the departed.

The affections naturally prompt survivors to desire that the friends and relations, whom death has taken away, may have entered into a peaceful and blessed state. On the other hand it is decidedly the assertion of revelation, that when this life of probation has closed, the destiny of the departed is no longer susceptible of change;—"As the tree falls, so it lies."—and there is no work or repentance in the grave. We have seen however that in the Middle Ages the Church had met the wishes of survivors with a delusive compliance, asserting that the souls of the departed, if at all in a state of grace, could be liberated from penal suffering by the prayers of the righteous, and by celebrating the Communion,—as a fresh mystical sacrifice on their behalf; and the laity gladly welcomed this groundless assumption, which mitigated their sorrows and anxiety about the fate of those who, though dear to them, had insufficiently manifested proofs of faith and christian obedience: and in their *own case* they were willing to sacrifice large amounts of property after their death, to secure the presumed efficacy of the Church's prayers for the benefit of their souls.

I will not descant upon the fearful abuses that hence arose, and the fond but fatal delusions that were supported by such assumptions. The Reformers scrupled not to renounce and tear down the flimsy and flattering web of sophistry which encouraged such sentiments,

destructive of personal piety, and acting as opiates to the conscience.

The error was based upon a theory wholly unwarranted, yea, opposed to the statements of Scripture, which uniformly asserts that the present is the day of grace,—that the work of faith and obedience is to be wrought out in this life,—and that there is no repentance, or alteration of destiny, when the present life shall have terminated.

The theory of the purifying effects of Purgatory was renounced therefore at this time by our Reformers; and also the adjuncts of it, viz: the offering of Masses for the Dead, the intercession of the Virgin Mary, as well as Priestly intervention and pardons. We ignore such remedies for our own weakness and sins: we trust not in them for the acceptance of our departed friends. It is incumbent on us, not to blame and repudiate altogether anxiety about the departed, but it becomes us to have a perfect trust in God's full and complete mercy through Christ, and prayerfully to repose our natural sorrows and anxieties for the departed, and for ourselves, in the bosom of our Father and our God,—persuaded that the merciful and gracious God will not reject any that have not *obstinately rejected* his salvation;—and that it will need no fire of Purgatory—no prayers of Saints or Priests, to conciliate a prompt and full pardon for all the infirmities of the earthly career of those, who come to him in the Saviour's name; nor will it require the discipline of suffering by fire to remove the soils and taints of sin, which the one sacrifice of Jesus has already cleansed away.

The Reformers endeavour to introduce a fuller and more Gospel Catechism.

If we would rightly estimate the progress of spiritual enlightenment during the six years of King Edward's reign, we have only to notice the vast difference between the Catechism issued in the first year, and that which was authorized in the last year of that short period.

We must specially speak of the Catechism then used.

The usual Church Catechism which we have in our Prayer Book, was composed in two portions at different dates. The *first portion* only existed in the first Service Book of King Edward, comprising instructions as to the Baptismal vow, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, being drawn up by Cranmer with help from Foreign Protestants.

It was an early effort of the Reformers while yet only half enlightened. It adheres mainly to mere legal injunctions, and says very little of justification by faith or conversion by the Holy Spirit. It is a bare summary of the Patristic and Mediæval Theology, a kind of historical and moral system, little conversant with the atonement and faith, whereby union with a Crucified Saviour is made the basis and fountain of spiritual life.

The *second portion* of the Church Catechism viz., that about the Sacraments was added so late as 1603 or 1604 by Bishop Overall, soon after the Hampton Court Conference. Though it may be rightly supplemented, and explained by an enlightened teacher, it is very liable to become a vehicle of instilling grievous errors

and Roman perversions, and it is made so by the Tractarian school. The second portion of the Catechism, equally as the earlier portion, is not the most suitable instruction for the young children of the majority of our parishes. A Clergyman, therefore, is often obliged to devise elementary instruction from other Catechisms, or to use additional books to supplement its deficiences.

On the other hand the Catechism composed in 1552 by Dr. Poynet, Bishop of Winchester, and promulgated in 1553 under the sanction of Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley, stands out in forcible contrast, and demands special notice.

It is without doubt the most genuine historical memorial of the cardinal truths of the Reformation. Its use was enjoined not only on the Clergy, but upon all Schoolmasters, for the religious instruction of youth. It embodied the latest and most matured opinions of the true Reformers of our Church, just before their career was unhappily cut short by the re-establishment of popery and its false sacramental system, under Queen Mary. This better Catechism was only enjoined by Royal authority about six weeks before the death of King Edward. It is therefore the last legacy of Martyrs and Confessors, who were prevented from completing the goodly fabric of the Reformed Liturgy. It is of far more gospel spirit than the one in general use. It does not teach the disciple to make unwarranted assertions of his regeneration, and of his being a Child of God, by the mere fact of Baptism.

It grounds and supports its teaching by constant

reference to the Holy Scriptures, and thus makes them the test of doctrine. It exposes the error of the Sacramental System, and the false theories of priestly supremacy over the laity, and of sacerdotal mediation between man and his God. It proclaims the sum and substance of the Gospel, Christ is exhibited in His offices of grace and mercy, while the example of His holiness is impressively set forth.

It forms also a strong contrast to the latter portion of the Church Catechism, respecting the Sacraments, which was set forth under James I. (fifty years subsequent to Poynet's Catechism.) It denounces the unscriptural and dangerous tenet of the real presence, which is so apt to lead weak minds into bondage. It would form a strong barrier against the delusions even now prevalent in substituting obedience to forms for spiritual religion, and it says nothing to lead to exaggerated pretensions of a sacerdotal distinction and supremacy, by recognizing in the Clergy the power of absolution, and the performance of unfailing Sacramental rites for regeneration, and for acceptance of the worshipper. It treats of the Sacraments solely as badges of our Christian profession, and as remembrancers of the benefits derived from spiritual union with the Saviour.

The fate of this Treatise has been extraordinary. It was published on the 20th of May, so that it had only six weeks to get into circulation before Edward's death; and on the return to Popery, it was diligently sought up for destruction by the Papists, and singled out for a special denunciation as 'Catechismus reprobatus'. Every

copy, that Queen Mary's visitors could find, was committed to the flames. They were persuaded, that the use of such a Catechism would complete the overthrow of their impositions and erroneous tenets, and establish the triumph of Protestantism.

Composed under circumstances so widely different from those of the present era, it may need curtailing and adaptation to the present times, but re-issued in suitable extent for the instruction of the young, it would be found far more useful for their education than the present meager unevangelical formulary; and being free from sectarian sentiments, would promote concord among Protestant Christians of various denominations, which the present Catechism is far from doing.

The reader will observe that very material reforms were carried out, and still further ones designed by Edward VI. and his ministers. In fact we are indebted to them for many of the best points, wherein the English Church is pre-eminent, and for the great improvements in its public worship upon the system that had preceded it.

I will conclude our present chapter by a brief summary of the portions of the Prayer Book which have come to us through the earlier Anglo-Norman Church, and of the alterations made in this reign, as it may be useful to the reader to comprehend them in one glance.

While the reading of Scripture lessons, with the Epistles and Gospels, and Scripture Hymns and Psalms were continued: (only read in English instead of Latin) the 'Te Deum' and other formularies of great antiquity

were properly adopted from the Breviary with the Creeds;—the Versicles and Responses, a great portion also of the Litany, (now made free however wholly from the superstitious addresses to the Saints and to the Virgin Mary, which had previously disfigured it,) many of the Collects, short Prayers, and Benedictions were also translated from the Breviary into English, and retained in the Protestant Church; the reformed publication being only pruned of some objectionable passages and unscriptural phrases. At the same time a few supplementary prayers and formularies were introduced into our Liturgical Services from other approved Churches on the continent.*

The external regulations of worship were simplified and purified from idle ceremonies. Both the Sacraments were reformed nearer to their Primitive simplicity, and were put on a Scriptural footing. The power of the Clergy was reduced within proper limits. Their vestments and ceremonials in conducting public worship were freed from excessive parade. A check was put upon enforcing auricular confession, and upon the assumption of Priestly absolution. And there was provision made for the general instruction of the people; and specially for that of the young. But much of the anticipated good was intercepted by Edward's death. Had the march of Reformation been uninterrupted by the events that followed that Prince's demise, we might

* The Appendix will supply a list of the chief new *additions* made to the formularies that had been in use in the Anglo-Norman Church; and where no specification is made of the origin of any particular formulary, the reader may consider such formulary to have been derived from the Breviary.

have been spared having to record many retrograde movements, not only in Mary's reign, but also in that of Elizabeth and her successors.

We cannot but admire the moderation, and yet the firm resolution of the Reformers of Edward's reign. They pruned away evils, yet retaining much that was sound. All honour be given to the Pre-Marian Reformers.

Let the reader fairly weigh what has been advanced in this and my first chapter, and he will be prepared to refute the chief fallacies with which our Protestant Church is impugned by opponents, or misrepresented by some of ourselves. One of the flippant accusations is that the Anglican Church had no existence before the sixteenth Century. Now it is evident that a faithful witness for Christ has been maintained by true christians from the Apostolic age downwards; and that the Reformers carefully gathered up all that was sound in doctrine, and praiseworthy in previously existing liturgical forms, only casting aside what their judgment, (as far as it was enlightened) after patient and deliberate examination, deemed false or unscriptural. They carried out the gospel injunction of trying all things, and holding fast that which is good. So our Church's position is in fact the continuous existence of the true and Apostolic Church.

A second accusation is that we derived our Liturgy from the Roman Church, while we deserted it. You have just read how carefully the Reformers retained every formulary and Church ordinance which could

bear the test of the Gospel standard. We only took up from previous ages what the Romanists themselves had received from other primitive Churches, or laudably devised for themselves. We deserted its communion because it had, as I have shewn, compromised itself by most prejudicial and deleterious errors, *superadded* to the truth in regard to observances connected with the Sacrament, and by the unwarranted ecclesiastical assumptions, which I have detailed in preceding pages. Nor can we ratify or admit their statement that the Eucharist is the only Liturgical Service of the Church. The records of their own Breviary, and sundry fragmentary evidences of ancient ritual Services, disprove that statement. In controversy with us the word Liturgy is used by them in one sense, and by us in another; and thus interminable misunderstandings occur. (See Preface.)

We must now advert to the third error, thoughtlessly adopted by Anglicans themselves; viz., that our Liturgy is throughout a composition of most primitive, or even apostolic institution, being closely similar to, if not identical with, the model liturgies introduced by the Apostles, or by their immediate successors.

We have here to admit again the fact that a *Eucharistic* Liturgy existed in the fourth and fifth Centuries, and probably long before that time; as far as the celebration of the Communion being repeated with a certain form of words and observances constantly kept up by memory and practise, but the other rites and observances of the early Church were a matter of gradual growth and increase as I have already shewn. I repeat then that

our Liturgical Services are by no means identical with any general model Liturgy of the Apostolic or Primitive ages. Some of our formularies are of very ancient date, traceable to the third and fourth Centuries. Some are copied from the Mediæval Church; some from the Oriental Greek Liturgies, some from the Continental Churches, many are of such recent date as to have been newly composed within the last 300 years. (See Appendix.) No general comprehensive Liturgy like our own can be traced to have existed all along, as some simple Anglicans maintain.

Alterations and improvements have been made in our Liturgy from age to age, and if there be any deforming adventitious error still clinging to it, in God's name let it be removed.

We have now contemplated, and briefly discussed the main ecclesiastical topics of the history of our Liturgical Services, during the first fifteen Centuries of the Christian Era. After the early Church had primarily assumed formation in Asia Minor, and on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, it sent forth Missions to Western Europe, to Gaul and Italy, and thence the knowledge of the truth and Church instructions spread onward to the neighbouring nations, to Britain, Spain, &c.* The chief nucleus of those institutions had originally been Baptism and the Holy Communion, as invariable formularies appointed by Christ himself, and celebrated with

* The reader will find some fuller and more minute information in reference to the source and succession of our ordinary Liturgical Services in the notes to this and the preceding chapters, placed in the Appendix.

the repetition of his words, repeated from age to age by memory, without written formularies. We cannot but admit that there must have simultaneously sprung up the custom of holding other assemblies for ordinary acts of christian worship; and these likewise were continued throughout the same Centuries: but there is no full and accurate record of what they were, further than that in the earliest ages Psalmody was the chief constituent of them, with prayers suitable to the varying circumstances of believers,—as I have pointed out (in pages 9, 14, &c.) Formal rites for burial and other occasional Services must gradually have assumed permanency of observance, but I repeat, no written form or precise record of their exact nature in the West is extant until the fifth Century. The amount of the knowledge of the details is scanty and uncertain. The grand outline is this, that the Eastern, or Oriental Church was the Mother of all the Western Churches, and that among the latter the Gallican, the British, and the Roman were kindred institutions. The formularies of these Churches clearly manifest an Eastern Origin, though marked with strong points of distinction from one another. In the lapse of a few more Centuries, the Roman Church obtained a marked predominance and supremacy;—not however to the abolition of the special Eastern characteristics, which marked the institutions that had been previously settled in England. We have traced how that supremacy was over-stretched, till its arrogant pretensions provoked the indignation of those who had been deluded and coerced by them. The Roman yoke was then shaken off, to be re-imposed only for a brief period.

CHAPTER IV.

After a brief re-appointment of the Latin Breviary and Roman Church, by Queen Mary 1553, *Queen Elizabeth, in* 1559, *re-establishes the Protestant Church and the Prayer Book. Account of further Liturgical matters to the close of her reign in* 1603.

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, who had from her youth continued a devoted Roman Catholic, a dark cloud fell upon the Protestant Church. Within three months an act of Parliament was passed, suppressing King Edward's English Liturgy; and restoring in its place the Latin Breviary as used in the time of Henry VIII., and not quite two months interval was allowed, before conformity to this order was to be strictly enforced, and all the Reformed Services discontinued.

The Roman Mass thus became again the primary observance of Public worship, and the other usages of the Breviary were re-established. Bitter sorrows and severe inflictions now pressed upon those of the reformed religion, and drove many of them into exile, or brought them to a cruel death. As our subject is limited to the consideration of the Liturgy, we must pass over these five dark years, and advance to the happier era of Queen Elizabeth.

Restoration of Protestantism and the Prayer Book under Queen Elizabeth, 1558, 1559.

This Princess in her earliest years had been surrounded by many adverse circumstances, and had tasted the bitter dregs of the cup of trial and persecution, during the reign of her sister Mary. She had come to the throne still surrounded with distrust, while a large portion of the people were steeped in the dark prejudices and superstitions, that had taken root under the recent dominion of Rome and its active emissaries. She was naturally disposed therefore to disarm opposition by all prudent conciliation; and if, during the first ten years of her reign she was over anxious to conciliate the Roman Catholic portion of her subjects, and conceded too much to them fort hat object, we must not fail with gratitude to acknowledge the firm vigour, with which she happily protected in the main the Protestant cause; though we have to lament that, in some particulars, she went too far in favouring the re-enactment of discarded errors.

The blame for this does not attach solely to her, but attaches also to those, who have based upon her weak concessions the revival of more Romish error, than perhaps she ever imagined could arise from them. Neither should we forget, that by the earliest prepossessions of her youth, she had acquired a tendency to lean upon the high pretensions of the Priesthood; and by her Tudor origin was constitutionally, as well as by her father's example, stimulated to use despotic control over the people committed to her authority.

It must also be borne in mind, that general policy

dictated the desirableness of her being upon friendly terms with the great Roman Catholic dynasties of the Continent, and even with the Pope himself, with special reference to her Continental alliances; and it is perfectly well known that there was a reciprocal desire on the part of the Pope, (Paul IV.) as well as on the part of the Queen for the first ten years of her reign, to maintain friendly intercourse. The Pope was disposed to recognize Queen Elizabeth's title, to give his sanction to the English Liturgy, and to assent to the Communion in both kinds, provided Elizabeth would only admit his supremacy over the English Church; and during that period a considerable portion of the Romanists in England conformed to the English Liturgy, so far at least as to repair generally to the Protestant Parish Churches.

Few perhaps clearly apprehend the extent of conciliation toward her adversaries, which Elizabeth pursued upon coming to the throne.

Bishop Burnet informs us, that her project and line of action were decided from the very first: viz. to do all in her power to retain the allegiance of her Roman Catholic, as well as that of her Protestant subjects; and to unite them in one faith. She therefore resolutely preserved a cautious neutrality upon her accession to the throne. She retained eleven decided Romanists in her Privy Council, adding to it only eight Protestants. She caused her Coronation to be performed according to the Roman Pontifical Service, though a Coronation Service had been framed under King Edward VI., (the description of which may be seen in Burnet's 2nd vol.

of the second part of his History of the Reformation.) In that Service the Archbishop was to advance to the four corners of the Platform, and demand the consent of the people; a measure which Elizabeth was not very likely to approve, or to consider politic: at any rate she had the Roman Latin Service used for her Coronation. It was read by Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle,—all the other Bishops declining to perform the Office. She allowed high Mass to be continued in Latin as it had been at the close of Henry eighth's reign, the Gospel and the Epistle being read in English. She had stopped at the commencement of her reign all other public Services, except such as should repeat the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, without additional matter. She restricted preaching to comments closely connected with the Gospel and the Epistle of the day, &c. She forbade the discusssion of controversial points as to doctrine and ritual; or to use any other manner of public prayer, rite, or Litany, but that which was already used in Her Majesty's Chapel, with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English: thus resuming in the public Service the form in which it had been left by Henry VIII. She issued a proclamation, that she "wished this course to be continued, until consultation should be held in Parliament."

On the occasion of her setting at liberty some, who had been imprisoned in Mary's reign for the sake of their religion, one of the gentlemen of her Court pleasantly made suit to her "on behalf of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, who, he said, had long been imprisoned in the Latin tongue, and he requested that they might

now walk abroad in the English language, as they had done in King Edward's reign." The Queen quickly and adroitly, in order to preserve her cautious policy, made answer that "she should first endeavour to know the minds of the prisoners, who perhaps desired no such liberty, as was demanded."

She declined to refer the settlement of public worship to the Clergy in Convocation, being aware that many of them were Papists, having been appointed to their preferments by Queen Mary.

There is a very significant token of her temporizing policy to be noticed. Elizabeth, in issuing two Primers in the first years of her reign, did not set them forth upon the spiritual and scriptural model of King Edward's *last* Service Book, the one appointed in 1552; but upon the model of his *first* Service Book, which was more like a re-print of King Henry eighth's Primer of 1545. Prayer for the Dead was for a season again introduced into Elizabeth's Primers, but the invocation of saints was omitted. In fact her Primers were, as we shall see her Liturgy was also, drawn up while she still clung to the prepossessions of her youth, and to the idea of conciliating the Roman Catholic portion of her subjects. It will be understood that these Primers were collections of forms for private and individual devotion, and not a Liturgy appointed or enforced for public worship. Many useful formularies might be culled from them, to vary and augment the range of prayer in public, and in private.

Her first step with regard to alterations in the *public*

worship was to summon a committee of eight divines; four of these had been in exile in the reign of Queen Mary, and two of these four had become, by their intercourse with foreign Protestants, advocates of extreme measures of Reform. The other four divines were men that favoured the Queen's high idea of her own prerogative; and they were like herself, desirous of retaining in the Established Church by comprehensive measures, those who were attached to the Roman ceremonies and ritual, as well the advocates of further Protestant Reform. These eight commissioners were empowered to call in other learned men to assist them.

But, soon after these commissioners had begun their work, Convocation displayed its unhappy and too usual tendency to stop Reform; and the lower house of Convocation in January 1559 prepared to present to Parliament a declaration of their faith in the chief Roman tenets. They affirmed the real presence of Christ's body in the sacramental elements; and further, that the substance of bread and wine no longer remained; and that the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, and lastly, that to St. Peter and his lawful successors belongs the power of feeding the Church, and deciding all its rites and ceremonies.

It became evident therefore on account of this strong remonstrance of the Romanists, that the Queen's Goverment must proceed with the utmost caution, in their plan of reproducing for national use the English Service Book or Liturgy.

The Queen, warned by tokens of such hostility, determined to pause for a time before she would attempt to carry a bill through Parliament, respecting the Protestant Liturgy. Previously therefore to submitting to Parliament the report of the eight Divines, about revising and re-issuing the Service Book, she decided that a public Conference should be held between the most eminent divines of the two rival parties; adopting this measure in order to turn the stream of public opinion more thoroughly in favour of her Protestant views.

The topics proposed for the discussion, were—

1st.—The propriety of having the Liturgy in the native tongue.

2nd.—That every Church has power to appoint, change, or abolish its own rites and ceremonies.

3rd.—That there is no fresh propitiatory sacrifice in celebrating the Mass.

The first point was discussed, and won general assent in favour of the Reformers. Upon the second point being commenced, the Romanists refused to abide by those rules of the Conference, to which they had previously assented. So, after some bitter discussion, the Conference broke up within a few days of its commencement. It appears however to have completely answered its purpose, in turning the tide of public opinion against the Romanists; they had so notably disparaged their own cause. So now, within a fortnight, the Bill for revising and re-appointing the English Liturgy, was brought into Parliament.

It must be noticed however that between the Report being drawn up by the Commissioners, and its being submitted to Parliament, Queen Elizabeth and her Privy Counsellors considered themselves justified in altering the scheme in two respects; viz. the following—

1st.—In the *second* Service Book of King Edward, a rubric had forbidden the Clergy to wear more pompous vestments for the Communion Service than for other portions of the Service, although the *first* Service Book had sanctioned such difference. The Committee of Divines had like the *second* Service Book, recommended the greater simplicity of dress, but Elizabeth insisted that the more stately vestments, and that all the ornaments of the Church, sanctioned by the *first* Service Book, should be again used.

2nd.—The Queen would not concede to the Communicants the option of standing, instead of kneeling, at the reception of the sacred elements, which had been permitted by the second Service Book of King Edward. Her conduct in these particulars has been interpreted as a willingness to encourage the tendency of the Clergy to exalt their office, and to insist upon excessive honor being paid to the external symbols of the Sacrament; and we are unhappily quite aware, how easily evil arises from undue exaltation of the Priesthood, or from an excessive reverence being expressed for the external emblems of the Saviour's body, instead of its being paid to the spiritual truths signified by them.

The report of the Divines included other regulations subject to objection: King Edward's second Service

Book had enjoined, that the Service should be used in such place of the Church, where the people might best hear, the new report ruled that it should be in the *accustomed* place, except otherwise directed by the Ordinary,—now the accustomed place had with the Romanists been in the *Chancel.* Even in our own days we have seen a return to officiating in the chancel affected by Romanizing Clergymen, to the disadvantage of their congregations.

The tyranny and the detestable enormities of the Bishop of Rome had been deprecated in King Edward's second Service Book. This clause was now omitted. It certainly was not charitably worded, but many thought that a decided reprobation of Roman errors was still absolutely necessary.

In King Edward's second Service Book, only the following words were used in delivering the bread, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ," &c., and in delivering the cup, "Drink this in remembrance," &c., but by Elizabeth's Commissioners the old formula of the *first* Service Book, (that had been objected to as recognizing transubstantiation,) was re-introduced in each instance. The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c., followed by the clauses, "Take and eat," &c., "Drink this," &c.

Further the rubric of Edward was cancelled, which had declared that "no adoration was done or ought to be considered as done by kneeling, as if it recognized the real or essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." Thus, it is argued, it was now left open, on

the one hand, to the Romanist to think that persons by kneeling did recognize adoration as due to the sacred elements: and therefore the omission of the said rubric, and the re-introduction of the words, the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c., &c., were supposed likely to conciliate them; while, on the other hand, the retention of the simpler form, "Take and eat this in remembrance," &c., might satisfy the Protestant party, who denied any real presence.

This mode of compromise was unfortunate in its effects at the time, and has also encouraged the perversions of extreme high churchmen, up to the present day.

The Queen in fact retained the impressions of her youth, when more sympathy was felt for Roman Catholic sentiments about the real presence, and in favor of ecclesiastical parade and stately ceremonials. So the alterations made by her were of a retrograde character, and the purity of reformation, which had been adopted in Edward's second Service Book, was now abated.

Parliament sanctioned the adoption of the Liturgy as the report had recommended; and thus our Prayer Book was established by Elizabeth in the year 1559, much as it has come down to modern times. The alterations made at the Hampton Court, and Savoy Conferences were of a limited and secondary character, nay in some respects very questionable improvements.

Further movements in the Protestant Church in Elizabeth's reign.—1559 to 1603.

It remains to notice some movements which quickly followed in Elizabeth's reign.

A portion of the committee, spoken of in the last section, appear to have continued their labours into the next year (1560) under the authority of the great Seal, (or Lord Chancellor), and to have introduced a change in the Lessons of some of the Sundays. It had been generally felt that some of the Lessons, previously read, were inappropriate for public service; and it had been before left open to the discretion of the Clergy to substitute others for such lessons; but now a new calendar of lessons was arranged, and the discretionary power of the Clergy to make any change of lessons was terminated. I confess that I cannot see why the exercise of such discretionary selection might not still be practised with profit; and it seems unreasonable that a Minister should have no power on special occasions to read at his own selection, as a lesson for the day, any portion of the Holy Scriptures, that he may deem appropriate to sundry special occasions.

Several good prayers for family use at this time were printed (at the end of the Prayer Book, in 4to). They were the same that had been printed in the Service Book of King Edward. In later editions these prayers were shortened, or wholly omitted. Similar prayers might be again introduced with advantage, for the use of the people in their private devotions; and also a few suitable for various public occasions, as has been done in the Prayer Book of the American Episcopal Church.

In February 1562, an effort was made by thirty-three Members of the Lower House of Convocation, to obtain some further reforms. They drew up a memorial to express the points which caused dissatisfaction, and to

request that they might be remedied: but the votes were so equally divided, that the proposition was lost merely by the majority of one voice. The reforms they desired were—

1st—That all Sundays of the year and principal feasts in honour of Christ be kept as holy days; and all other holy days be abrogated.

2nd.—That in all Parish Churches the Minister in common prayer should turn his face toward the people; and distinctly read the Divine Service appointed in that place, where all the people may hear and be edified.

3rd.—That in ministering the Sacrament of Baptism, the ceremony of making the cross on the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.

4th.—That forasmuch as many are not able, or object to kneel at the Sacrament, the order for kneeling may be left to the discretion of the Ordinary.

5th.—That it be sufficient in Divine Service, or in administering the Sacraments, to wear the Surplice.

6th.—That the use of organs be discontinued.

This effort in 1562 was one of the less importance, as being only the unsuccessful proposition for a motion in the lower house of Convocation, it cannot be regarded as having indicated anything more than the equal balance of the two parties in that secondary assembly; but it has been sometimes misrepresented as a proof that the puritan views were, at that period, just on the very verge of prevailing over those of the opposite party, which is hardly correct.

In 1562 a very important document was completed, but not publicly issued with authority of Parliament. The XXXIX Articles (being a revised edition of the XLII Articles of Edward VI.) were now adopted by Convocation, and ratified by the Queen. The publicity given to them was limited; it would be more correct to say that they were kept back; for they were not established by Parliament, and only four editions were published in nine or ten years.

It is well known that the spirit of the XXXIX Articles is very different from that of the Liturgy, according to the statement of Lord Chatham, that we have "a Popish Liturgy, an Arminian Clergy, and an Evangelical Creed." The Articles certainly are of a more gospel character than some of the formularies of the Liturgy; and this is explicable by a clear view of the different sentiments entertained by Elizabeth *at the period when the Prayer Book was established,* from what they were *ten years afterwards,* when the Articles were allowed by her to receive the sanction of Parliament, and to be put in general circulation.

For the first ten years of her reign, I must repeat, she was constantly animated by a desire to renew and consolidate amicable relations with the Pope, and to retain the adherence of her Roman Catholic subjects. So a *Liturgy* was published, from which every statement, likely to give offence to Romanists, was excluded, and several passages likely to conciliate them re-introduced in it as they had existed in Roman Catholic times. *The Articles,* though passed by Convocation, and ratified by herself, were for the same reason kept back, as long

as there appeared any prospect of her efforts for conciliation and comprehension being successful. But when, after her long continued measures in the direction of conciliation, she found little real conformity to her wishes, and the danger of the opposition from any very considerable portion of her subjects was at an end, when moreover instead of a friendly Pope, the new Pope Pius V. in 1569, was rash enough to issue his bull of excommunication, and deposition from the crown, against Elizabeth, as a heretic and encourager of heretics, and to absolve her people from their allegiance; we can easily imagine that thenceforth the Tudor Princess with the fiery spirit of her father, felt little inclination to continue her policy of conciliation, and forbearance towards 'his Holiness,' and his partizans, the disloyal opponents of their own sovereign. The result was, that all disposition, on the part of Elizabeth, to temporize was now at an end. Her Roman Catholic subjects might shew their enmity, but her power now was too firmly established to fear them, nor did she now hesitate to treat them as their insubordination deserved. Accordingly she no longer kept back the book of Articles, but having obtained the sanction of the Legislature, issued them for general circulation in 1571. In those Articles was proclaimed clearly the gospel character, which the Church of England was henceforth to bear in her constitution and ministrations.

This temporizing hesitation of Elizabeth had spread over ten years. Such a course carried in itself perhaps too much of mere worldly policy, and too much concession to evil, to meet with unqualified approbation; but

much allowance must be made for the pressure of the circumstances, in which this great Queen found herself, and for the partial enlightenment of herself, as well as of those, by whom she was surrounded.

During the remainder of the reign of Queen Elizabeth several internal regulations of Church discipline, and minor alterations were made, but there was no actual change of the Liturgy and public Services of the Church. We have therefore to pass over many years without any occurrence specially connected with our subject. There arose indeed in 1583 many irregularities in the administration of Divine Service, in evasion of Elizabeth's act of Uniformity, of the year 1559. This disorder was virtually disregarded in some places with the connivance of the Bishops; and through the peculiar views entertained by several noblemen, who *favoured* ardent pleaders for further reform,—such as Walsingham, Leicester, Knollys; for a large party expressed their discontent with the restrictions enforced by Elizabeth, and by the Bench of Bishops.

In order to bring the Clergy into stricter conformity, Archbishop Whitgift, at this juncture, introduced the requirement of the signature of the Clergy to the Three Articles, (which were afterwards embodied by Bancroft in the 36th Canon.)

The first Article is that no foreign prince or potentate has jurisdiction or authority in the British dominions.

The second. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used, and that he himself will use

the form in the said book prescribed for public prayer and administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

The third. That he alloweth the book of Articles of Religion, &c. &c., and that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine-and-thirty, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the word of God.

Great controversies and disputations ensued, and it is to be feared that much evil has been perpetuated by enforcing such stringent subscription to the innumerable propositions which are involved in the last two of those Articles. Weak-principled persons may be induced to profess a hypocritical and fictitious unity of judgment: the conscientious alone are excluded, or disquieted by them. By that enactment the liberty of free inquiry was checked—the intellect and the spirit fettered: and it is very questionable whether the result may not often be that, Ministers adopt what has been termed the old woman's receipt—"to give up thinking, for fear they should be led to think wrong." A simple promise of conformity, backed by the forfeiture of preferment, in cases where the Clergy should be proved before a competent and open court, obstinately to have contravened the regulations to what they have promised to conform, would produce an equal degree of uniformity, and would better secure the progress of religious truth. Thousands of earnest christians, dissatisfied with the checks placed upon their religious liberty during the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign, and hopeless of attaining more freedom in religious matters under her vigorous control, directed their aspirations onward; vainly trusting that their views would meet more encouragement upon James I. coming to the throne.

CHAPTER V.

King James I. The Hampton-Court Conference. Our present authorized version of the Bible. The latter portion of the Church Catechism now added. The establishment and enforcement of the Book of Canons by Archbishop Bancroft. The misrule of his successor, Archbishop Abbott. 1603—1625.

JAMES had been brought up among the sturdy Reformers of Scotland, and been accustomed to public worship purified from unscriptural ceremonies, and to simple regulations of Church Government. It was therefore expected that on his accession to the throne of England he would be favourable to further reforms of the Established Church, and the hopes of those, who had in Elizabeth's reign, remonstrated in vain against the stagnant lethargy of its Rulers, were thus awakened.

A petition therefore was presented to him, praying for alterations in the rites, formularies, and discipline of the Church. It was called the Millenary Petition, because signed by about a thousand (mille) of his subjects, of which number many were ministers of religion. Many of the objects for which the Reformers had pleaded in Elizabeth's reign, were comprised in the demands of this Petition. In a brief manual, like the present, it may be well to confine ourselves to the most important topics.

Passing over therefore some of the complaints of the Petitioners, as sufficiently discussed elsewhere, such as

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their objections to using the symbol of the cross at baptism, the ring in marriage, bowing at the name of Jesus, Church music, reading the Apocrypha, the cap and surplice, obsolete words in the Liturgy, the observance of Holy days, &c. I shall only advert to the following points included in their petition—

1st.—That baptism should not be privately administered by women.

2nd.—That interrogatories should not be addressed to infants, or to the sponsors for them, at baptism.

3rd.—That the system of confirmation was objectionable.

4th.—That persons should not be admitted to the Holy Communion without examination.

5th.—The "*longsomeness*" of the service should be abridged.

6th.—They also complained of subscription required to the Articles, of lay impropriations, of excommunication, and of the abuses of the Ecclesiastical courts.

The King in deference to their wishes summoned a Conference of Divines, to be held at the Palace of Hampton-Court, where he then resided, and this circumstance originated the name of the "*Hampton-Court Conference.*" His Majesty acted as President or Moderator. The Lords of the Privy Council were present, also the Archbishop, eight Bishops, and nine other eminent Divines of the Church. Only four puritan Divines were summoned to it, and a Presbyterian minister from Scotland appears to have been admitted.

The above-named points were discussed in the presence of the king; and—

1st—It was ruled that it was not proper for baptism to be administered by women. The King and the Bishops however carried the decision to an extent, that the petitioners had not required or wished; for the new regulation now adopted was to the effect that baptism should "only be administered by the Clergyman of the parish, or some other lawful minister;" thus further exalting the exclusive authority of the Clergy of the Established Church.

2nd.—On the second point, viz., the interrogatories addressed to infants or their sponsors, though the present sponsorial system may be blamed as carried to a faulty extent, James overruled all opposition to it, on the ground of the precedent of what had occurred to himself in his infancy, upon his accession to the crown of Scotland, on which occasion others had stipulated for him the future fulfilment of his regal duties. But no one can possibly engage for another, that he shall believe the Articles of the christian faith, or pledge for himself, much less for an infant, that "he will obediently keep God's commandments, and walk in the same all the days of his life." Sponsors might indeed promise that they would *endeavour* that the infant in due time should be instructed, that it was his duty to believe the Articles of the christian faith, and obey God's commandments: but the established formularies go beyond such moderation. In the discussion on the point, the sentence was quoted from St. Augustine "Qui peccavit in altero, credat in altero," meaning that he who is considered under original sin for another's fault, may be considered a believer through another's profession; but there is a vast difference in the fact of a person hereditarily bearing a sinful consti-

tution through another's fault, and therefore suffering for it,—from the fact of a person being considered righteous merely by another's faith. The truthful aspect of a just parallel in respect to vicarious responsibility might be thus expressed:—"He who suffers as a descendant of the first Adam, may be exculpated and accepted through the merits of the Second Adam."

There was some reason in their remonstrances about confirmation, and about a too lax admission to the communion.

5th.—The "longsomeness" of the Service unhappily still remains a just cause of complaint. It will be adverted to in the latter pages of this manual.

6th.—Of Subscriptions exacted with unreasonable stringency we have already descanted in the previous chapter, and the subject will be resumed toward the conclusion of this book. Dr. Reynolds at the Conference urged that Subscription to the many propositions contained in the Articles, and to all that is read or prescribed in the Prayer Book, as to Lessons, and as to portions of the Service, and as to questionable rites, ceremonies, and observances, was a great impediment to a learned ministry; and he entreated that it might not be as heretofore, for by it "many good men are kept out, others removed, and many disquieted."

Lastly, the Puritans pleaded strongly for a new translation of the Scriptures, instancing several palpable errors in the translations then used. This request was favourably received, and a new translation was shortly afterwards taken in hand. Therefore we may ascribe to this Conference the credit of having promoted that ex-

cellent object. The work was begun in 1607, and finished in 1610. The issue of the new Authorized Version, which continues still in use, took place in 1611. The number of divines engaged in it was originally 54, but reduced afterwards by death and sundry impediments to 47. Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Chadderton, two of the puritan divines, were among the number; the former however was one of those soon removed from their labours to the mansions, where there will no longer be divisions among the children of God.

The addition of the questions on the Sacrament, with their answers, was now composed by Bishop Overall, and subjoined to the previously existing portion of the Catechism. They would admit of amplification and improvement: many think them more calculated to attach an unwarranted degree of consequence to the mere fact of receiving the Sacrament, than conducive to vital religion, by directing attention to a spiritual observance of the rites instituted by the Saviour.

There can be little hesitation in admitting that the present Church Catechism is insufficient for the work for which it was intended, the instruction of the young. But it is not only defective, it has by its requirements of sponsorial engagements beyond reasonable limits, and by its apparent sanction of the doctrine that baptism infallibly conveys regeneration, the unhappy effect of driving those, who do not approve such statements, into separation from the established Church. It has been asserted that no portion of our services or formularies has more decidedly the effects of estranging well-disposed

and inquiring christians from our communion, but I must refer my readers to what has already been advanced upon the subject of the catechism, at the conclusion of the third chapter of this work.

We have now examined the transactions of the Hampton-Court Conference, we may dismiss it with the remark, that it was feebly conducted on both sides: the King standing upon prerogative, and the Bishops upon High Church authority: His Majesty exhibiting considerable vanity in his office of Moderator, and displaying much learning and readiness of reply, but in a pedantic way, as authoritatively overruling objections rather than striving to remove stumbling blocks out of the way of the objectors: and the Bishops conducting themselves with most servile adulation to the King on the one hand, and contemptuous superciliousness toward the puritan Divines on the other; while the advocates of reform persisted in making the most of conscientious objections to several external formalities of little consequence, instead of pressing for the correction of radical errors and false principles.*

After the Conference had terminated, the report of it was neither submitted to Parliament, nor to Convocation; but the King required, his Metropolitan and others of

* James endeavoured to intimidate the advocates for reform when his arguments failed to convince. When they declined to yield the point of ceremonies merely because "so ordered by the Church" he replied warmly "I charge you never speak more to that point, how far you are to obey the orders of the Church."

The Millenary Petition was summarily rejected, and ten of the Petitioners immediately committed to Prison by Star Chamber authority. This was a tolerably significant hint, that James would allow no very great opposition to be made to the views of what he considered to be sufficient civil and religious liberty for his subjects.

his Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, to make declaration of the changes agreed upon: and then issued his Letters Patent to ratify their act; and to provide for the publication of the Liturgy in its new condition, and to enjoin the exclusive use of it in every Parish.

The following is a summary of the alterations sanctioned in the new edition of the Prayer Book, immediately after the Hampton-Court conference.—

Into the title or heading of the Absolution were inserted the words "or remission of sins." In the gospels for the second Sunday after Easter and the twentieth after Trinity the opening words, "Christ (or Jesus) said to his disciples," were changed to Christ (or Jesus) said, which were also now printed in a different letter to shew that they were not to be found in the original text. The rubrics in the office for private baptism were altered, so as to restrict the administration of that sacrament to the minister of the parish, or some other lawful minister. The title "Confirmation" was explained by the additional words, "or laying on of hands upon children baptized and able to render an account of their faith." The doctrine of the two sacraments was added to the catechism. Some few changes were made in the lessons taken from the Apocrypha; a prayer, now called the prayer for the Royal Family, was inserted after that for the King, and occasional thanksgivings for rain, fair weather, plenty, &c., were added after their corresponding prayers on the same subjects. The expressions however in both the Prayers and the Thanksgivings are of such an exaggerated description, as to render them inapplicable to most of the occasions, when such formu-

laries are required, and consequently they are very seldom read by the Clergy.

Subsequent injudicious movements.

The disappointment felt at the rejection of nearly all their requests at the Hampton-Court Conference, irritated the Petitioners for the Reform of the Church, instead of intimidating them, as the King and the Bishops had anticipated. The former had boasted that he would make them conform to Church order, or he would "harrie them out of the land"; and his recent imprisonment of ten of their number, and threatening words to them, gave but too strong evidence of his readiness so to act. His flatterers delusively entertained the conviction, that the wisdom and force of his arguments had completely settled the objections, which the remonstrance had meekly urged and weakly supported, in the presence of the royal arbiter and his court.

Nevertheless, a Petition was presented in the very next year, from Protestant ministers in the Diocese of Lincoln, charging the Prayer Book "with fifty gross corruptions, and ceremonies notoriously used to superstition and idolatry," and requiring its total abolition; an angry and exaggerated statement, which was the first wave of a flood of sorrows; the ultra Protestants being thenceforth embittered not only against the Prayer Book, but against the Church Establishment and the Throne.

The next unpropitious movement that calls for notice in the contemplation of the years closely following, was the establishment and enforcement of the book of Church Canons, by Bishop Bancroft, (afterwards Archbishop).

He was a man praised for governing with great vigour, and pressing a strict conformity to the Rubrics and Canons; but he had no knowledge of forbearance, or of the advantages to be derived by a prudent use of it.* His unrelenting strictness gave a new face to the outward exercises of religion. Divine Service was performed with deep solemnity. The Fasts and Festivals were rigidly observed. "The use of Copes, (an item of high Church vestments) was renewed. The Surplice was now worn in deference to order, instead of being demurred to; and all things in a degree brought back to the first settlement under Elizabeth," which our readers will remember was as near a compromise with Romish usages, as could be ventured upon, without entirely shocking the adherents of the Reformation.

Some who had formerly subscribed to the Prayer Book in a general sense, with reservation as to a few expressions, were now called upon to prove their full conformity of judgment, by stating it in the most precise and strongest terms. For in 1603 when the See of Canterbury was vacant, Bancroft Bishop of London had as Prolocutor of a synod, presented a book of 141 Canons† which passed both houses of Convocation and were ratified by the King's Letters Patent in 1604.

Bancroft, (now Archbishop) insisted upon the repe-

* Archdeacon Berens' History of the Prayer Book.

† "They were not fresh original statutes, but were a collection of disciplinarian Articles, injunctions and synodical acts, that had been passed and published in the reigns of King Edward, and Queen Elizabeth, and are regarded as binding upon the Clergy, but not upon the laity, being simply rules of discipline or Church Government."—(Collier's History of the Church.)

tition of subscription by all the Clergy (then existing, or to be appointed thereafter,) to the three Articles of Archbishop Whitgift, which have been detailed in the last two pages of the preceding chapter, and which were now embodied in the 36th Canon; and further, that it should be made, not in general terms, but with this precise statement;—"I * * * *do willingly* and *ex* "*animo subscribe* to these three Articles, and to all "things contained in them."

A large number of the Clergy were deeply distressed by this increased stringency of subscription, and it appears that forty-nine were driven into non-conformity, it being next to an impossiblity, that all should agree respecting the many rites, statements, and propositions comprehended in the Prayer Book, and in the articles, which range over the whole extent of Christian doctrine and practice, the Sacraments included.

In 1610, the successor of Bancroft was Archbishop Abbott, a prelate whose disposition and conduct were likely to do much harm: as he formed so striking a contrast not only to his predecessor, but also to Laud who succeeded him. Though of upright private character, he was incapacitated to act with energy and prudence, and his lax administration of the Church left an open door for disorder, and irregularity in the performance of the Service. As he himself leant to the Genevan school of doctrine, he gave encouragement to those who held the same sentiments, and his house was a sanctuary to those who were disposed to carry them to extreme excess. An uncompromising hatred of Roman errors, was at once a sure key and ready passport to his favour.

All other qualities appeared to be overlooked by him, provided the suitor made profession of ultra evangelical religion, and scrupled not to heap abuse upon everything, that might be represented as having a tendency to Rome.

In the latter years of his primacy controversial subjects had become very prevalent in the pulpit, which was an infallible indication of considerable agitation in public sentiment. James I. was sensible that such discussions must tend to anything but peace in Church and State, and therefore issued in 1623, inhibitions to restrain such pulpit controversies, and preachers were forbidden to dwell upon the exercise of the prerogative and authority of princes;—or upon high Calvinistic doctrines, some indulging in bitter invectives against Romanists, others retaliating with equal severity upon Puritans.

At the same time the Bishops were cautioned to be more wary in licensing preachers, while religious Lecturers, not holding parochial charge, should only be licensed in the Court of Faculties, after receiving the recommendation of some Bishop, and should have their appointment confirmed by the Great Seal. (The Lord Chancellor.)

On the side of Regal and Episcopal authority, high pretensions were followed by imbecile measures to establish their assumptions; on the side of those who sought reforms in Church and State, a sense of violated rights and of oppressive domination were nursing a flame destined to break out ere long with volcanic and destructive fury.

CHAPTER VI.

The fruitless endeavours of Charles I. to introduce a Liturgy and Episcopacy in Scotland. The solemn league and covenant. The popular discontent under the rule of Charles I. Unconstitutional proceedings of the Clerical Synod in England. Archbishop Laud's proceedings and character. Infatuated blindness of the Rulers in Church and State. The inveterate attacks of the House of Commons upon the Bishops, the Church and the King. The Prayer Book abolished. The Directory established by the Presbyterians. Laud beheaded. The Clergy expelled from their livings. The King put to death. Fanaticism triumphant. 1625—1660.

After an interval of two years Charles I. succeeded to the crown. There was for a short time a deceptive halcyon promise in Church and State; but clouds soon arose, and ere long they overspread the whole community with ominous portents of storm and violent convulsions. The events to be now recorded are connected with the history of the *use* of the Prayer Book, more than with any alterations of the formularies contained in it. But the narrative of events connected with the public worship in England forms so stern a warning against unrelenting stiffness of those in authority, and against impatient violence on the side of religious factions, that a page or two may well be devoted to record the transactions of this period. It is the more requisite to

dwell upon it, because not a few among us are utterly ignorant of the real process by which it came to pass that the Prayer Book was entirely set aside, and the Episcopal Church exposed to the severest inflictions in the wilderness state to which it was reduced from the date of the abolition of the Prayer Book, until the simultaneous restoration of the Monarchy, the Church, and the Anglican Liturgy. The ignorance of such persons is the more to be deplored, because it indisposes them to listen to warnings of the perils, to which obstinate perseverance in error may again at any time reduce a misguided Church or nation.

King James had contemplated establishing uniformity of worship throughout the whole of his dominions. He had been sorely vexed in his youth by the encroachments of the Presbyterians upon the authority of his mother Queen Mary, and by the way in which he himself had been checked and controlled by the leaders of the Reformed Church in Scotland; and accordingly he had put on foot a plan for introducing in his native country a Liturgy and an establishment similar to those of England. The Book of Common Prayer had been generally used in Scotland during the first five or six years of Elizabeth's reign, between 1558-1564. But it had been set aside by the persevering efforts of Knox, in order to make room for his own book of Common Order (a precursor of the Directory.)

James in 1616 had prevailed so far upon the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, as to obtain their sanction for the compilation of a Prayer Book, and of a

book of Canons, or rules for Church discipline: and a book for the public worship was prepared, but not actually adopted in James's reign. Charles I., like his father, decidedly preferred the deference and loyalty of Episcopalians to the insubordinate spirit of the Scotch Reformed Church—and he preferred the Church of England itself above the Presbyterian system. He visited Scotland in 1633, in the hope of being able to carry out his father's project of introducing there an Episcopalian Church—but met with little encouragement of his intention.

Soon after his return to England, Charles had by Archbishop Abbott's death the opportunity of promoting his favourite Laud to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. He was doubtless influenced herein by his approbation of Laud's principles and conduct in the department of ecclesiastical affairs. After a short time, the plan for Scotland, which he had adopted from his father, ripened into shape, and an attempt was made in 1637 to introduce there an Episcopalian Establishment and a Liturgy based upon King Edward's *first Service Book*, which I may remind the reader, was less removed from Roman principles than his second Service Book, and the subsequent English Liturgy: and this preference of the first Service Book coincided entirely with Laud's own sentiments.

By singular and awkward mismanagement the Book of Canons for Scotland, containing rules of discipline for the contemplated Episcopalian Establishment, was published there before the Liturgy reached them. Of course such a projected establishment was most unpalatable

to a population brought up in the extreme rigidity of the Presbyterian system; and the Scotch became frantic in their opposition to the whole plan, and when the Liturgy was forwarded to them for adoption, their fury burst into a flame. Violent and disgraceful outrages occurred in the very sanctuary. The Bishops and Deans were followed in the streets by tumultuous crowds. "A Pope, a Pope—Pull him down—Stane him, Stane him" being the charitable exclamations, by which their appearance in either church or street was greeted.

The whole scheme of Charles was utterly defeated; and in its room the Solemn League and Covenant was adopted throughout the Scottish nation, and an invasion of England was the mode in which they expressed their sense of the favour proposed to be conferred by Charles upon them. The Solemn League and Covenant however did not confine its efforts to the territory north of the Tweed. Its determined object was to introduce *presbyterianism* into *all quarters* of the United Kingdom, and we shall shortly have to notice to what extent they actually succeeded in England.

Doubtless the success of the opposition of the people in Scotland greatly encouraged the parties of the reformed Church in England, who had left the establishment, to entertain bolder resolutions of resistance to the authority of secular and ecclesiastical rulers.

The Court however, was not at all rendered prudent by the disastrous results of their impolitic attempts in the North. A Synod of the Clergy was assembled in 1640,

at which a new set of Canons of very injudicious tone and tenour, and encroaching upon civil and religious rights were authorized. Instead of acting as a check upon the prevalent distempers in Church and State, these Canons added fuel to popular indignation, and kindled great prejudice against the whole body of the Clergy. The Convocation upheld the King in his unconstitutional proceedings, and granted subsidies to him out of Parliament. They hesitated at first as to their power to make new Canons for the Church, but Sir Harry Vane, the principal secretary, urged them to proceed; and upon receiving the sanction of the Judges, they set to work; and they at the same time recommended coercive measures to be taken against the advocates of further reforms.

The Houses of Parliament on the other hand denounced the proceedings of the Synod as unconstitutional and illegal; and the only practical result of its operations was to infuriate the nation against the King and the Bishops.

Denzil Hollis was shortly after sent by the House of Commons to impeach in the House of Lords, Archbishop Laud, of high treason; for he was regarded as the instigator of the high church proceedings. Laud was thereupon put under the custody of the officer of the black rod (or wand,) and remained under his restraint (which was a milder kind of imprisonment,) from December 1640 to March 1641. He was then sent to the Tower, and there confined for three years.

It may be well to offer some remarks upon a man who took so leading a part in the disturbances of that age,

and to account for his extreme unpopularity. He was a remarkable instance of a man of great abilities and high purpose, becoming an instrument of evil through wrong judgment, ill regulated temper, and intemperate zeal. When he succeeded Archbishop Abbott he first endeavoured to bring into order the Established Church, which had been long in disorder through his predecessor's lax superintendence, and the culpable negligence of weak and wilful churchmen. Laud was the exact reverse of the Archbishop whom he succeeded, being a Churchman of strict formality, of hasty temper, and uncourteous manners towards those, from whom he differed: still a man of intense energy, strict personal integrity, of high enterprize, and of great perseverance in following out his convictions, and his favourite projects. Self supported by his own honesty of purpose, he took no pains to conciliate, or to soften his opponents. He was like Charles I. a man of individual piety, and earnest in his devotions: he desired to restore the decorous ordering of Churches, and of the services in them. The buildings had been suffered to fall into decay, and the services in them to be celebrated with insufficient reverence. His proceedings to restore the fabrics, and to insist upon a remiss Clergy attentively fulfilling their duties, stirred up hostile feelings in those, who had now to make the long neglected and expensive repairs; and he did not shrink from fineing and persecuting his opponents. He thus irritated many of the Clergy against him. Like the Master (whom he served only too devotedly,) Laud was in the face of danger and suffering, a man of unbending

courage. He would neither *yield* to rough threats, nor adopt any concessions that might be denominated time-serving; erring in action, even when truthful in purpose, he was admirably qualified to raise a storm, and to lash it into fury, but not at all calculated to ride on it, or control its violence.

He had to deal with a generation of men soured by great disappointments; who had, moreover, long brooded over their fathers' discontent, at not finding the true principles of the Reformation fully carried out by Elizabeth or James I.; and who fretted under the still cherished Tudor ideas of prerogative and high authority, which sought to quash all insubordination of judgment, or disobedience of positive orders.

The popular mind became infuriated in the struggle, and I believe its fear was exaggerated upon hearing the rumour that Laud had made changes in the Liturgy, and innovations in the Church. The Puritans accused him of having corrupted the Prayer Book by unauthorized alterations. In his censorship of the public press he was known to have expunged passages, or caused them to be altered, before he would sanction the publication of several authors on *political* subjects: so the cry was that he had tampered also with innovations in the *public worship;* but though the press, and the pulpit of sectarians made a furious onslaught, they could substantiate very little against him, except a few alterations, that the precedents of others, or convictions of their propriety bore him out in having attempted.

Some few changes of expression had certainly been

set forth by the Archbishop. His having introduced the phrase of "our most religious and gracious King," though the honest utterance of his own loyal heart, was not one of the most palatable to the sturdy advocates of republican principles. He had also introduced some change of phrase in the Service for the 5th November; the scope of which alteration was to limit the complicity in that nefarious plot, and the guilt of it, to a small party of Roman Catholics, instead of rabidly denouncing with the multitude the whole body of them as universally bent on "turning religion into rebellion." But his moderate and charitable view of that plot being limited to a few iniquitous men, and his justice in not imputing blame where he did not believe it due, were taken as the unhappy proof of his irreconcilable opposition to Protestant sentiment.

Laud's plainly expressed aversion to the language, and the prejudices of his opponents, could not do otherwise than grate upon their feelings; and unhappily he seemed to have special tact in touching the sorest spots in their consciences. He cleared himself however, by his speech in the Star Chamber in 1637, from the false imputation which had been levelled against him, of having corrupted the Prayer Book, with unauthorized alterations. But this justification availed him not. The alterations were still harped upon, and the imputation was a second time urged against him during his trial in 1644, as evidence of his design, to favour the Church of Rome, and to betray Protestantism. Violent partizans had thrown reason and moderation to the wind, and the result was they had to reap the whirlwind. Wiser

policy in the Court, and more judicious prudence in administering Church authority might have stayed the avalanche on its beetling rock: but their storm-like fury blindly precipitated the impending ruin, which in the end overwhelmed the nation.

During the years of Laud's confinement in the Tower, we observe a decided difference in the temper of the proceedings in the two houses of Parliament.

Proceedings in the House of Lords.

The Peers were for making efforts for assuaging the irritation of the discontented by reasonable concessions, and they appointed accordingly in March, 1641, a Committee of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons, with power to associate with themselves learned divines for consultation: and their project was to take into consideration all innovations in the Church, and its services. Among the divines, whom they appointed, were the ablest men of the day. On the side of the established Church were Archbishop Usher, Bishop Hall, Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Prideaux, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and Warde, Brownrigg, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, and Hacket, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield.

On the side of the dissenters were Drs. Calamy, Twisse, Marshall, Burgess and others of eminence.

These commissioners were instructed to consider and report upon the innovations, which were said to have been introduced by Laud and others of the Bishops in their respective Dioceses; with an understanding at the

same time that they were to go into the whole field of doctrine and discipline, and to suggest such measures as would tend to allay the great and general feeling of discontent.

Many of the Committee were eminent for their learning, and their attachment to the Church. They were aware of the imminent danger that threatened the national establishment, and were willing to make reasonable concessions to save it. The points they entertained were these: that all portions of Scripture, read in the Services, should be taken from the recently authorized Version: fewer lessons be taken from the Apocrypha: the Calendar be purified from the names of legendary persons: sundry obsolete words in the Liturgy, or expressions that were objected to, should be changed, such as the one in the Marriage Service, 'with my body I thee worship' the sanctifying this water, in baptism:—'in sure and certain hope:'—in the Burial Service. The rubric concerning vestments was to be altered, and that about kneeling at the altar explained. The words about baptized infants 'being undoubtedly saved' were to be omitted as objectionable in themselves, and conveying an uncharitable inference respecting the unbaptized; absolution in visitation of the sick was to be made declaratory, not authoritative.

But the time for reasonable concessions had been overstaid. The nation after the many refusals of increased freedom at home, and after having witnessed the success of resolute opposition in Scotland, would no longer be contented now with a few concessions. They were determined to have their own way: and the Com-

mittee of the House of Lords, seeing the utter uselessness of trying to ward off by negociations the coming storm, abandoned all further proceedings in the matter.

Proceedings in the House of Commons.

The measures taken in the House of Commons were of a far more adverse and destructive spirit. Their rights and privileges had been more grievously outraged, and the King had provoked intense animosity in that assembly. After sundry dissolutions of that branch of the legislature by the Sovereign, the Long Parliament had assembled in 1640, and commenced its work. One of their first measures was to carry a Bill for the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords; in this they were assisted by petitions from several counties, setting forth in acrimonious virulence, and the extravagant language of faction, that the Bishops were a common nuisance; that the clogging and disappointing of all business in Parliament was occasioned by the Bishops; that the decay of trade was to be attributed to the Bishops, &c., &c.

The populace soon accompanied their outcry with deeds of outrage and personal violence, so that the Bishops could not resort either by land or by the Thames to the House of Lords without hazard of their lives. The bill against them then passed both Houses in February 1642; and the King, though with the utmost reluctance, was prevailed upon to give his assent to their exclusion.

The attack upon the Prayer Book was at first carried on with some show of moderation. The discontented fac-

tion in the House of Commons *pretended* only to seek reasonable reforms; and in order to judge better in the matter, they desired that an assembly of Divines should be summoned. They took care however, by the mode of the nomination to that assembly, to secure the presence of a large majority of persons resolutely opposed to the constituted authorities. They intrusted by a new device the nomination to the Knights of the shires (the members for the counties); and the result was, that out of 120 assembled, only 20 were known friends of established order in Church and State.

One of the first steps taken in this Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was to pledge themselves, to assimilate the Church in England and Ireland to the Presbyterian Form adopted in Scotland. In other words, they united with members of both Houses of Parliament, in taking the Solemn League and Covenant. Popery and Prelacy were denounced, and those, who would not unite under the 'Solemn League and Covenant' began to be regarded as malignants, and to be so denominated.

They next proceeded to prepare a Directory for the worship of God throughout the United Kingdom, and in 1645 measures were taken for its establishment.

It was a book setting forth the proposed general order of public worship, and the manner in which the Sacraments and occasional rites should be administered; but in all these leaving the *details* to the discretion of the officiating minister. Its directions were to commence with Prayer in reverence and humility, then to read the Holy Scriptures, which might be followed by expound-

ing the portion just read; then to sing a Psalm, then followed a Prayer before the Sermon, cautions being given as to its length, that neither Preaching the word, or the subsequent administration of any ordinance, should be straitened or rendered tedious. It was decreed on January third, 1645, that the Book of Common Prayer should not remain, or be used in any Church, Chapel, or place of worship in England or Wales; and that the new Presbyterian Directory should be used instead of the Prayer Book.* In August of the same year a further Ordinance forbade the use of the Prayer Book even in any private house or family; all copies of it were required to be given up, and heavy penalties declared against offenders, and for the next 14 years this exclusion was enforced by acts of the most severe and violent oppression.

The livings of the majority of the Episcopalian Clergy were now taken from them. The excluded were numbered at 7000, and their preferments were mostly filled by Presbyterian and other Dissenting Ministers. The Clergy were subsequently forbidden to act even as Schoolmasters, or as Private Chaplains; and unrelenting persecution of Episcopalians was continued with increasing intensity till the death of Cromwell, at the end of 1658. We thus see the unhappy results of the stiffness, which in the two preceding reigns of Elizabeth and James,

* It may correct some false impressions to observe that this abolition of the Prayer Book occurred nine years before Oliver Cromwell assumed the Protectorate. When supreme, he doubtless continued the severe restraints upon the adherents of the Episcopal Church. But the abolition of the Prayer Book was the result of *national* rejection, not that of an individual.

had refused to yield even to the just calls for the amendment of errors, and for some mitigation of the strictest rules and rubrics.

The Rulers in Church and State had conceived it possible to preserve in forms, as unalterable as stone, Church forms and ceremonies. Indignation and resistance slumbered for a time, in the hearts of those, who at first desired only reform. The injudicious measures of Charles I., and of Archbishop Laud and his party, caused the slumbering volcano to break forth in such fury, as could scatter the firmest rocks in disruption, and bury in overwhelming destruction all resistance opposed to it.

Having before them the startling beacon, that the unhappy precedent of the failure in Scotland had furnished, the authorities were infatuated enough to presume to stifle the surging discontent of men, who feared to lose entirely both their civil and religious liberty, and the purity of spiritual worship. A wild, and in some respects an exaggerated panic overcame the calm judgments of many among the middle and popular classes; while designing men nurtured and inflamed the insubordination and insurrection, which they purposed to make subservient to their own power and exaltation. In the face of all this danger the civil and ecclesiastical rulers chose to preserve an unyielding obstinacy. They thought it best to proceed in supine disregard of the dangerous power of an agitated community. They fastened down the safety valve of the removal of abuses; what wonder if their insensate dream was rudely broken, and on awaking they found the con-

stitution in Church and State gone to wreck and ruin. May the misery that was caused by the opposition of the Rulers of the State to measures for civil liberty; and by the opposition of the Rulers of the Church to the retrenchment of abuses, and the removal of oppressive enactments, be a beacon to warn civil and ecclesiastical authorities against any repetition of such insensate folly. Just one week after the abolition of the Prayer Book, followed the execution of Laud, who had supported it, even in its faults. The form of impeachment had been abandoned, and the process of attainder being substituted, passed the House of Commons in 1644. The Lords could not be induced to pass it, until threats of violence to themselves were employed. In January the ordinance of attainder was adopted by only six or seven Peers, the rest of the Lords having all absented themselves through fear, or shame to be concerned in his condemnation. So Laud was sentenced to the scaffold: he ascended it with unblanched countenance, submitting to the axe with courage. He met his death with the resignation, and the firm faith of a christian, even if he had deserved the blow by his injudicious conduct.

In reviewing Archbishop Laud's character we cannot but regret that a mind, which was noble in several of its capacities and principles, should have been grievously warped by his impetuous zeal. There unhappily is undeniable evidence that Laud lent himself, like Saul of Tarsus, to do the cruel work of a violent persecutor. His victims, such as Prynne the barrister, Burton a divine, and Bastwick a physician, rose unduly in renown on account of their sufferings for attacking the corrup-

tions of the Church of England; while the Archbishop sank in the estimation of the friends of civil and religious liberty, on account of the severe inflictions he imposed on them, and on others, through the Star Chamber, and High Commission Courts. And we are almost startled by the speedy retribution which overtook himself through the same spirit of violent persecution, which he had wreaked upon others.

"Eheu, quam temerè in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam."

It requires but few words to sketch the events of the next four years. A deadly and discreditable civil war dealt havoc and misery throughout the land, and laid thousands of its noblest and bravest in the dust; and Charles, after sad alternations of bold efforts to stem the tide of insurrection, followed by vacillating and weak compromises; after displaying personal courage in the field, fortitude in prison, religious composure amid harassing difficulties before enraged enemies, and a magnanimous spirit before an unconstitutional court, set up by rebellious subjects for his trial—amid insults and blasphemous ribaldry from the populace, vain pity from those who were willing but unable to rescue him, conducted himself with well sustained dignity to the last and with composure laid his head upon the block.

I merely name the evils that ensued. I meddle not with political discussion. I only wish to show the unhappy results of the ill judged measures of the rulers in Church and State. Let none, however, suppose that, because the Civil and Ecclesiastical Rulers had acted injudiciously, therefore the insurgents and the usurper

were justified, or that the evil results were confined to the party who lost their cherished constitution of Church and State. Floods of crime, iniquity, and suffering overwhelmed the whole people. The nation was demoralized; and the healthy relations of society depraved and vitiated in the conventicle, and the cottage, no less than they had been in the synod, and the palaces of the great.

Hypocrisy, blasphemy, and cruel oppression were rampant on one side, even to a more fearful extent than impolicy, unbending assertion of authority and corruption had been on the other. The royalist party had their estates confiscated, and were driven into exile. Episcopacy root and branch was exterminated. The clergy were driven from their preferments and their homes. The republicans had fallen into the hands of harsh, yet sharp sighted rulers. All their noble theories of civil and religious liberty dwindled away under stern oppression and narrow bigotry. A cruel and dreary business they made of it. This could only last a few years. Then the reaction set in, and the people sighed for the comparative peace, for the truer freedom, and the greater happiness, which England had enjoyed under a regular government, and an Established Church.

CHAPTER VII.

The restoration of the Royal Authority in the person of Charles II. The manœuvres of the ultra-reformers foiled. The restoration of the Protestant Church Establishment and its Liturgy. The Savoy Conference commenced for praiseworthy objects, and followed by some useful alterations of the Prayer Book; but unhappily followed also, after the Act of Uniformity was passed, by some very lamentable results.

The restoration of the monarchy, and the re-establishment of the National Church and its Liturgy, were the termination of many of the public disorders. In adverting to the political bearings of this restoration, I need only touch upon them as far as they have an immediate connection with the re-establishment of the Prayer Book. I have therefore merely to notice in passing, that the nation wearied with past troubles was so overjoyed at the prospect of a regular legal government, that they surrendered themselves with blind implicit confidence to the royal power, trusting that all would henceforth go on well. They took no effectual measures for limitation of the prerogatives which had been claimed by Charles I., nor did they stipulate for the maintenance or improvement of religious liberty, beyond a few hopeful assurances given by the Prince, accompanied by his assertion on the subject of religion while yet abroad,

that "He should be ready to pay attention to the wishes of the people, when they should be embodied in an act of Parliament."

There was a wily craftiness and sinister importunity about the proceedings of the ultra-reformers, that would provoke a smile from the contemplative reader, were not the whole topic dashed with sorrow at the perverse contentions of christian brethren. The deputation of Dissenting Ministers hurried across to the Hague, to prepossess Charles ere he came to the throne, in favour of their special views.

They were not satisfied with a general assurance of toleration, but perseveringly in private audiences endeavoured to entrap the king into some degree of compliance with their forms of worship. They suggested that the "Book of Common Prayer had long been discontinued in England (about 15 years) that many of "the people had never once heard it, and therefore it "would be much wondered at, if his Majesty should "at his first landing revive the use of it in his own "chapel; and therefore to prevent the people being "shocked at such uncustomary worship, they entreated "him not to use it in full form, and according to rubrical "directions, but only to order the reading *some part* of "it, with the intermixture of *other* good prayers."

We know that it was enthusiastically restored to use, two days after the King was proclaimed, the Common Prayer being read before the Lords, on the tenth day of May; which rather points out the extent of exaggeration used for persuading the royal lion to have

his claws pared, before he should be affianced to his people.

When it appeared that Charles could not be out-generalled so as to consent to forego his usual form of worship, they fixed on a minor, but still a characteristic formality. They requested that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by the royal chaplain, because, forsooth, the sight of this dress would give great offence to the people: thus venting a narrow prejudice of their own, and implying that it was an incontestable point; as we hear the same often done now a-days. The Prince, however, now plainly told them that he would not be restrained and dictated to, while others so specially pleaded for their own unrestricted liberty, and insisted on having it: that the surplice had been always reckoned a becoming vestment, and been constantly worn in the Church of England. (I believe it has been hereditarily continued from the very first ages of the Church,) moreover that he had always had it used in his Chapel while abroad, and that although he might tolerate the irregularities of others in religious worship, he never would abet such irregularities by his own practice. Though they might have known by his replies his resolution to withstand their importunity, they continued to tease him with incessant complaints, till he found it necessary to insist that they should thenceforth submit their grievances and wishes *in writing*.

They than tried another ruse, stating that there was no real difference between churchmen and themselves in the doctrinal truths of the reformed religion, and in

the substantial parts of divine worship, but only in *some various conceptions* about the ancient form of Church government, and *some* particulars about a Liturgy and ceremonies. (Strange then that the same dissenters only a few years before had thought it necessary to forbid peremptorily, at the risk of property and liberty, the use of the Prayer Book, and had denied to the ministers of the Church all free exercise of their religion!) Their objections to many of the formularies and ceremonies *were valid* ones, but they assumed on this occasion a plausible sycophantic dissimulation, to get the thin end of the wedge in, which being once done, they had demonstrated a few years before, whether they were likely to be very scrupulous in driving it home. I cannot say that the Bishops on the other side used any excess of suavity, or consideration for their opponents. They probably felt much like the fox who had been so severely bitten by gnats in fording the river, that he felt very reluctant to have a fresh brood of them settled on his quarters.

The restoration of their Church must have been a happy deliverance from oppression, and from bitter distress, to the afflicted episcopalians. They had loved their Church and its Liturgy, and they had witnessed its humiliation, its exiled wilderness state with the deepest sorrow. The beams of the divine favour were apparently withdrawn. Happily the eclipse, which had obscured her cheering orb, now passed away; even in the deepest shadows of her obscuration, she had consoled them in their bitter afflictions; her queenly statcliness was no more, but their affection for her con-

tinued. They had not lost confidence in her, as able to reflect the bright beams of light and spiritual life from the fountain of her illumination, the sun of righteousness; she was but hid for a time behind a frowning providence, yet again to come forth radiant with the bright smiles of divine mercy.

The Church, as of old had been driven into the wilderness, and the divine providence had pleaded with her there, ministering effectual correction of some of her previous unhappy tendencies.

The time of emerging from the dark hour was at hand, and the few remaining clouds that enshrouded her, were seen to unfold their silver lining to the re-nascent beams; and like the lesser light that reflects the orb of day, she was coming forth again with beauteous crescent, to be succeeded from time to time with waning lustre, or with full effulgent disk—the periodical alternations of brighter majesty, or of dimness, through which the Church will have to pass, until her final destiny is consummated in glory. Without at all asserting that the purport of the passage in the book of Rev. xii. 1—6. is intended to represent this special conjuncture in our national history, I submit that the portion of the Church during that conjuncture is vividly illustrated by the figurative language which St. John used. His vision was that he beheld in heaven a woman clothed with the sun and having the moon under her feet. These twofold emblems represent exactly the character of the Church, resplendent with light reflected from the source of light. She is depicted as fleeing in distress before the fury of her oppressor, into the wilderness where she was sus-

tained of God. Without any inclination to wrench, or overstrain the application of Scripture language, I regard it in this case as closely representing the sufferings and the exiled state of the National Church, during the persecution that then fell upon her.

But I must now pass on and endeavour to chronicle briefly a few of the most important phases that she has gone through since that restoration, and must seek to reproduce before my reader some of the most marked changes in her liturgical services that have been made or attempted; and the principle involved in those changes. It is not, however, the plan of my little work, to dwell upon each and every particular with the microscopic examination of an antiquarian ritualist. Some of the changes, or points of revision attempted, only created a short lived or secondary interest. Those chief topics only need be dwelt upon, which more lastingly impressed the public mind, or which still retard or accelerate the pulsations of our spiritual life. The use of the Liturgy was resumed immediately at the restoration, but within six months afterwards, upon the petition of the Presbyterian Ministers, requesting changes in its formularies, and in the regulations of the Church, King Charles issued the excellent Declaration which gave the Dissenters every hope that their reasonable wishes would be attended to; that ample concessions would be made; and all desirable alterations would be carried out after a careful review should have been taken of the Prayer Book, and of the canons. The Royal Declaration further expressed, that though ceremonies which had been long approved, would not be surrendered

to capricious objections, free permission would be given to those whose conscience was grieved by any of them, to omit their observance at any rate till full deliberation should be given about their continuance or rejection: moreover the requirement of subscription, and oaths of canonical obedience were to be relaxed. This Declaration cannot be read without acknowledging it to be a most liberal and christian spirited document. But we have a painful contrast to draw between the averments of the Declaration, and the subsequent enactments of Charles. His conduct throughout tallied with the bitter sarcasm of one of his courtiers, who characterized him as

> "a king
> Whose word no man relies on,
> Who never said a foolish thing,
> And never did a wise one."

The Declaration was only the encourager of false confidence, and the precursor of bitter disappointment to those who trusted its assertions.* An effort certainly was made to reconcile the discordant parties. The doubtful plan of a conference was tried again—as it had been tried under Elizabeth and James, to ascertain what was demanded, and what could be conceded.

The presidency however in this conference was not taken by the king. There were twenty-one divines of each party—the Episcopalians and the Reformists. The conference was held at the lodgings or residence of Sheldon, Bishop of London, master of the Savoy;† from which circumstance it was called the Savoy conference, and Sheldon opened the meeting. Neither party, how-

* Bunyan and a great many other dissenters were thrown into prison, Bunyan continued there until 1671.

† An hospital or alms-house near the Strand.

ever, acted reasonably. The Episcopalians seemed to assume from the first, that they had only to hear the objections of the other party, and then decide upon them; and they used much tact in drawing their opponents into the position of making all their objections at once at the opening of the conference. Baxter thereupon carried away by zeal, persuaded his party to bring forward every claim for alteration, however minute and vexatious. The consequence was that public opinion was turned against them, as being persons not to be satisfied with reasonable improvements. Instead of the claimants considering how little would be sufficient to remove their most harassing scruples; and the respondents being ready to make every concession that they could make without impairing the establishment, they each took just the contrary course. The claimants raked up all the demands they could put together, and the respondents set their faces as a flint to decide how narrow they could make the limits of their concessions.

The arrogance and conceit of the Presbyterians as to their superiority, had for a time, during the latter part of the Commonwealth, been quelled by the untractable spirit of the Independents, and of the other religious parties with whom they acted; and therefore in the petition for reform which they originally brought forward, there had been much moderation of statement and requirement: but when they found a willingness to entertain their projects, and became elated with their courteous reception by the king, they seem to have altogether forgotten their moderation. Their claims now became extravagant:—Baxter demanded that an

entirely new Liturgy of his own composition, should be sanctioned; and that ministers should be allowed to use in the Church either the old Liturgy or the new one, at their discretion. Thus the associates for Calvinistic reform put forth exorbitant demands.

The episcopal party on the other side could hardly be expected to stultify themselves and abjure the tenets and usages which they had long and conscientiously entertained; and to surrender all to the caprices of the opponents. And they now became irritated and treated with over-bearing assumption the exaggerated demands of the petitioners. They told them "it was not for *inferiors*, "but for *superiors* to decide about the ceremonies of divine worship; (they said,) that persons who made "such requests as shewed not tender *consciences* but "tender *heads*, needed a (fool's) cap, more than a rubric."

Charles II., therefore, who had at first entertained their petition with a professed willingness to sanction reasonable alterations; had some grounds for withdrawing his support and countenance from the reformers, as they had thrown off all consideration for the long cherished tenets of others, as well as moderation in the claims which they themselves advanced.

We need not accuse the king of conscious insincerity throughout, as some have done; we can see how it became nearly impossible for him to act otherwise, when the Presbyterians had laid aside all prudence and discretion, and had raised a clamour for so many and so great alterations. It would require many pages to give

the full details of their demands, and their objections. We will only name *those* points of revision, which they urged with most reason.

They desired that the concessions which the bishops and the noblemen of the commission in 1641, had been willing to make (see page 121,) should now be actually granted. They complained of the tediousness of the public service: they requested that, where the existing prayers were not acceptable to some ministers, new forms should be provided in more scriptural language; and a choice of the old or new form of prayer [or part thereof] should be left to the officiating clergyman; (a degree of liberty which might well be granted in some few cases): that the gift of extempore or free prayer, should not be excluded altogether: they objected to pronouncing all baptized children to be regenerated by the Holy Ghost: to the delivering the sacrament to the unfit: to pronouncing absolution unconditionally in the visitation of the sick. They did not approve, in the service for burial, giving thanks to God "for taking to himself" all persons of whatever character. They insisted that various ceremonies were retained too strictly, such as kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the use of the surplice, of the sign of the cross in baptism, frequently bowing at the name of Jesus, of bowing toward the altar, &c. They remonstrated against the decision, that none might be a preacher unless he subscribed the statement, that there is nothing in the Prayer Book contrary to the word of God.

When the Episcopal divines had rebutted with replies, that were often contemptuous, the claims of the Pres-

byterians; and brought forward the concessions which they, on their part, were willing to make; it appeared that the seventeen concessions which they were willing to agree to, were, with three or four exceptions, comparatively slight amendments, and little calculated to remove serious objections.

Justice however compels me, after patiently weighing the claims of Baxter and the ultra reformers, to admit that very grave errors lay at the root of several of the other alterations proposed by them.

First, it is evident that the regulations proposed by them against the people accompanying the minister in the general confession, in the responses, in alternately reading the verses of the psalms, and against uttering anything but 'Amen,' or similar ejaculations, were tantamount to confining the worship to the minister; were more consistent in fact with the* jewish idea of worship than with the worship of a congregation of christians, all invested with the privileges of priesthood according to the spirit of the present dispensation.

Their remonstrance against the confession of sin and other formularies being expressed in general terms, and not in special admission of this or that sin, and of many of the prayers being also of a general nature, instead of specific petitions suited to the cases of individuals, is open to censure, as recommending what must have been a forced and simulated utterance in the mouths of half the congregation.

* See chapter i. page 6.

If they had succeeded in their proposition of withholding baptism from the children of parents who might be under ecclesiastical censure, or be persons of questionable consistency in their religious life; and had carried out their desire of a very strict ecclesiastical discipline, it is to be feared that they would have made a large number of hypocrites among their adherents, and have irritated and driven into defiance hundreds of sound principled men, of a character that shrunk from making outward demonstrations and high professions.

Their proposition to do away with short prayers, and versicles: and on the contrary to turn the Litany into one long prayer, and to combine several of the collects into lengthened prayer shewed much ignorance, or want of judgment with respect to the best means of keeping up a lively interest in the minds of a large assembly of persons, many of whom are unintellectual and very partially educated.

Some of their objections, such as against praying for "all that travel," and the adoption of conventional expressions of their own, instead of those to which the public mind had been habituated, were foolish and unreasonable.

So the conference had no practical good result. At the close of the four months appointed for the conference, the Episcopalian and Presbyterian divines could only agree to this extent—that a full report of the points discussed should be delivered to the king in writing, and that each party should give in separately this general statement, "that the Church's welfare, that unity and

peace, and his Majesty's satisfaction were *ends* upon which they were all agreed; but as to the *means* they could not come to any harmony."*

In the mean time the Convocation of the Clergy had been sitting nearly two months, and they adopted in part the concessions which the Episcopalians of the Committee had agreed to. A general revision of the Prayer Book was also undertaken. The edition of the Prayer Book made use of as the basis of these corrections is said to have been the one of 1634, which contained the alterations attributed to Laud—which also had been brought before the committee in 1641; not the Prayer Book as issued by the authority of King James in 1604: and consequently it was not so free from exceptions. And the more Romanizing Liturgy which had been provided for Scotland, doubtless suggested many of the rubrical and verbal alterations now made in the English Service—to suit the higher tone of ordinances, which the high-church party preferred to that moderation of expression, which had prevailed in the earlier and purer days of the reformation, and had been the characteristic of the Second Service Book of Edward VI.

Abridged List of the alterations made in the Prayer Book after the Savoy Conference.

I will now place before my reader a succinct list of the chief alterations made by Convocation in the Prayer Book after the Savoy Conference, and ratified by Parliament in 1662.

The most decided improvements were these:—

* Berens' History of the Prayer Book, 153 page.

1 —That the passages from the Bible which are read in Morning and Evening Services, were henceforth read in the words of the authorized version of 1611. The only portions left to stand as before in words translated from the Latin Vulgate were the Psalms, the Ten Commandments, and some passages in the Communion Service.

2.—Some occasional prayers, and thanksgivings were added, viz., a second prayer for fair weather, the two prayers for the Ember weeks, the prayer for the Parliament, also the one for all conditions of men, a thanksgiving for restoring public peace at home, and a very beautiful formulary, ascribed to Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, the general thanksgiving.

3.—It was at this date also that the last clause of the prayer for the Church Militant was added: beseeching God to give us grace to follow the good example of his servants departed this life, that with them we may be partakers of his heavenly kingdom. Prayer for the dead had been removed from this formulary in 1552, and now this supplemental portion was added as its concluding paragraph.

4.—The introductory portions of the *Morning Service.* The sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution, were now both printed and read at the commencement of the *Evening Service* also. Some consider that although before not printed for it, they had nevertheless been read at its commencement.

5.—At the end of both the Morning and Evening Services were now printed the four prayers, and the

benediction, as they at present stand there: they had previously been printed at the end of the Litany only.

6.—Some additions and alterations were also made in the collects, epistles, and gospels, in the rubrics and in the Lessons.

7.—Many verbal alterations were made, several of them very important improvements, but others promotive of higher *Church* ideas in preference to *congregational* ones, a few very questionable or worse. The general reader can hardly be expected to enter into the special force and character of these minor matters. The more inquiring student, can turn to the Appendix for fuller details.

8.—Some new forms of prayers were made to be used at sea, also services for Jan. 30th, and May 29th, while the service for Nov. 5th was altered. These three services were happily removed from the Prayer Book a few years ago.

9.—There remains for us to notice the entirely new office which was at this time appointed for the "baptism of such as are of riper years," and some alterations made in the other offices of baptism. This new form was now composed, because during the commonwealth many persons had grown up without baptism altogether, or with a baptism the regularity of which, as not having been performed by clergymen, was questioned. Ill-supported assertions, and the repetition of objectionable expressions were embodied in this new form. For instance: the assertion that "water had been sanctified

to the mystical washing away of sins,"* and again respecting the certain regeneration of the baptized.†

Many persons not only reject these assertions, but consider that such phrases lie at the root of gross perversion of the Sacraments. They maintain that by this re-statement of high Church views, that which was very beneficial as a symbol only, has come to be regarded as efficacious in itself, and thus has been converted into a delusion, and become the source of grievous error. By making too much of the external symbol or emblem, whether in baptism or in the Lord's supper, the outward form is substituted for the vital substance; error for truth, the letter for the spirit. The Priest and the recipient are both unduly made prominent, Christ and the conversion of the heart by the Holy Spirit thrust into the back ground.

Let me not however be misunderstood in my remarks upon this Sacrament and the Holy Communion, nor let the possibility of a better form being devised for baptism, be doubted. I entirely concur with the forcible statements and beautiful truths, advanced by the writer in the Edinburgh Review of April 1861, both as to the merciful provision made for mankind by the institution of Sacraments, which speak forcibly to the convictions of many various kinds of intellect, and as to the improvement of our formularies for administering those Sacraments, viz., by adhering in them more closely to the simple statements of Scripture, without

* Upon this subject I have descanted in pages 37, 38.

† See pages 43, 73, and again p. 38.

allowing human comments to be superadded.

"First, let it be considered that if there be a question upon which exact agreement between man and man is likely to be impossible, that question is the theory of Sacraments. Agreement here is impossible, because (we say it with all reverence, but with confidence also) it was not intended by the Creator Himself. There seems to be an essential difference in the constitution of human minds, such as philosophers have noticed between Realists and Nominalists, between Platonists and Aristtotelians, which requires to be met by a corresponding adaptability of the Divine communications. And hence the special value of Sacraments. They have an elasticity of application to the human mind, in its two great varieties, and the endless minor differences under which these varieties appear. The eloquent symbol, the visible object, the significant action, the pregnant fact, which has been made the vehicle or instrument of Divine truth, finds its way through the understanding and the feelings to the spiritual apprehension, adapting itself, in accordance with the subtle laws of our moral and mental constitution, to the capacity of the individual addressed. Symbolical words do this to some extent—parables, for instance, and other figurative utterances. But a symbolical action does it still more, and of such a nature is a Sacrament. Surely we may trace the Divine goodness and wisdom very notably in this, in thus providing Sacraments to be the perpetual witnesses and media of truth revealed,—the channels, under various modes, of grace imparted. But if this be so, let the Church take heed lest she hinder this wise and beneficent purpose—

lest by requirements and interpretations, and dogmatic definitions of her own, she mar the Divine machinery, stiffening its elastic play, and rendering it totally unfit to affect the hearts and inform the minds of whole classes of human beings.

"And secondly, let it be remembered, that when Christians are at a loss for words and phrases in the use of which they may all concur, they have always at hand an arbiter to which all defer alike,—a repository to which all may betake themselves,—in those Scriptures which all accept cheerfully and unhesitatingly as of paramount authority. Is it not obvious, then, that when a formulary of the Church is found to offend the deliberate judgment of large numbers of Christian men, it is the wisdom, not to say the duty, of the Church to reduce that formulary to a more exact agreement with Scripture; to correct all deviations from that language which are complained of as involving an important difference; to admit the limiting conditions with which Scripture itself has qualified its assertions, and which must not be disregarded when universal deference to those assertions is claimed? And is it not certain, that though entire agreement may not even so be obtained, and important differences of opinion will often remain, yet these differences will resolve themselves into a discrepancy as to the interpretation of Scripture,—a discrepancy which, if removable, will disappear at last with further light; and if not removable, is permitted, and perhaps intended, by the Giver of the Scriptures?

"We proceed to apply these principles to the question before us. That the Church of England has overloaded

the Sacrament of Baptism, or left it overloaded, with requirements and definitions, and dogmas, which offend the judgment and repel the sympathy of vast numbers of pious, thoughtful, and reasonable Christian men, is an assertion which needs no proof to support it. Under one form or another, this fact has been the most fruitful cause of dissension and secession for three centuries and more. It is above all else the cause at this moment of that dissent which is computed to have involved nearly half the English nation. And even among those who remain within the pale of the Church, it is more than all else the prolific source of dissatisfaction, perplexity, and heartfelt pain to thousands of the best and worthiest of her children—of disputes and subterfuges and mutual recriminations among those who vainly endeavour to reconcile statements which are in fact irreconcilable.

"The parts of the service through which 'these offences come,' are unmistakably indicated by the united voice of Dissenters and Churchmen. The consecration* of the font (re-introduced into the service book in 1662)—still more, the application of the term *regenerate* to infants after, and by virtue of, their baptism—but, most of all, the expressions which forbid that term to be understood of a simple transference into a privileged state—and the language which is put into the mouth of the sponsors—these are the points which either severally or altogether contradict the earnest convictions of men who are neither opiniated, nor sceptical; and the

* The consecration of the font is rather a strong term, I would have said; the Prayer to God to "Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin."

determined maintenance of which necessitates the secession of many unwilling Non-Conformists, and threatens the disruption of the Church of England.

As to a remedy of the evil the Reviewer adds the following suggestion:—"We believe that there are ways of meeting the difficulty. And, first of all, that which seems to be the best way, though we confess we have little hope of seeing it adopted—the reconstruction, namely, of the service on such a principle as to leave all controverted points to be expressed in the plain words of Scripture. Many texts, many which are not recited and scarcely referred to in the present services, might (if desired) be so advanced as to express unequivocally to the minds of Anglicans the doctrines for which they contend; while all these would be received with equal deference by their fellow-churchmen of other opinions, provided only that in the accompanying prayers and thanksgivings the Church allowed God's word to commend itself by its own unborrowed light. Let it not be said that such a course would be impracticable, or, if practicable, only to be realised by the sacrifice of all distinctive doctrine. We point, in answer, to the Office for the Holy Communion. On the subject of that sacrament there exists within the English Church at this moment as wide a difference of opinion as upon Baptism itself. And yet the Christian wisdom of our Reformers has produced a Service in which all concur; in which all devout Churchmen, of whatever shade of opinion, find their convictions and aspirations expressed, without any sense either of a void left unfilled, or of too strong an assertion needing

to be explained away. Nay, the same testimony would be borne to it by the great majority of the Protestant Dissenters. We unhesitatingly believe that a similar Office might be compiled for the Administration of Baptism."

The above quotation clearly points out the great benefit of Sacraments, and indicates how the perversion of them, likely to arise from certain portions of the Baptismal Service, may be prevented. Let none erroneously confuse objections to the perversion of sacramental rites and their ministration, with objections to them in their proper use and functions, for Christ conferred the highest benefit upon the Church by the institution of the Sacraments, and it is only by the most entire perversion of them that evil has come in, and requires now to be eradicated from them.

Beside the improvements which I have detailed in pages 142-3, many minor verbal and rubrical alterations, altogether amounting (as Dr. Tennison computed) to about 600 in number, were made in the Book of Common Prayer by the Convocation of 1661, and were finally ratified by the stringent and most injudicious Act of Uniformity. Most unhappy have been the effects of that Act of Parliament. It drove out many adherents of the Church at once, and even now confiscates the preferment of any who refuse to comply with its requirements; which unalterably stereotype all the formularies of the Church, right or wrong.

The evil of it may be traced in the speedy rise and establishment of large Dissenting Communities, which

in their combined numbers (though severally far less numerous) approach now to an equality with the Established Church; and in the iron yoke which by that act was placed upon the Clergy; and not only crippled the exercise of their judgment and discretion as churchmen, but precluded their free communion with Christians of other denominations, whom they ought to recognize as brethren.

It was now for the first time since the Reformation insisted, that ministers must have *Episcopal* Ordination. This restriction being indispensable, about Episcopal Ordination did much injustice, and caused uncharitable heart-burnings among christians.

It is true our Church from the very commencement of the Reformation, had expressed its decided preference for the Episcopal form of Church Government, and adopted it in all sincerity; still the authorities had not considered it necessary to object to the method of Ordination by presbyters in other Churches. Our own Church had availed itself of the Services of many distinguished presbyterians in the pulpit, in the press, and in the universities: the Ordination by presbyters had been accepted as valid and lawful, and a large number of the ministers in Elizabeth's time had not received Episcopal Ordination; but from the time of the alterations confirmed by the Act of Uniformity, an illiberal sectarian policy has prevailed, excluding from all ministrations in conjunction with us, men of acknowledged piety and gospel principles, unless Episcopally Ordained, or unless they would submit

to a supplementary form of Episcopal Ordination. And if such ministers should upon conviction wish to join the Established Church, they are thus compelled to deny their previous official character, and disown their former ministry, however, they may have been blessed in the spiritual success of their ministrations;* while a converted Roman Catholic priest is not bound to any such re-ordination.

Let the reader decide whether the antecedent services of the evangelical minister, or of the priest who has been steeped to the lips in all the errors of popery, require most to be marked with such practical censure. The minor non-observance of a special formula in one case, is considered to vitiate Ordination; in the other, gross corruptions are passed over. Is not this very like some strange enormity, the reception of which receives the satirical censure of 'straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.'

But there is, as I just now said, the further grievous result connected with the denial of all Ordination except that which is Episcopal, viz., that it not only engendered painful heart-burnings and enmity between ourselves and non-conformists at home; but has produced cold distrust, and embittered the relations between the foreign Reformed Churches and ourselves. And we not only stand aloof from communion with them, while each in our several

* It is true that an ineffectual attempt was made by Bishop Bramhall and others to soften the denial and refusal of Presbyterian orders, but it did not succeed in doing so. History of Book of Common Prayer. Procter. p. 168.

countries; but even when their ministers visit England, there exist difficulties in consequence of this Act of Uniformity in admitting them to occupy our pulpits and benefit our congregations, to the extent as some one shrewdly said, that if it were possible for St. Paul to visit the cathedral church named after himself, he would, according to present regulations be inadmissible to the pulpit. In like manner there is very little general sympathy for the lay members of Continental Protestant Churches when in England; and therefore feeling unjustly repelled by us, are disinclined to brotherly union with Anglicans when abroad.

Surely we shall sympathize with the wish that has been expressed by one of the most powerful advocates of Revision (Mr. Fisher) and his quotation from Bishop Hall: "Oh for a revival among the great ones of our Church, of the large hearted liberality of former times. Oh for the spirit, the right minded Catholicity of a Cranmer, a Jewel, an Usher or a Hall, amongst the Bishops and Archbishops of our present establishment. In a discourse addressed to the clergy of the diocese of Norwich, the good Bishop Hall says of the friendly relations in his day of our Church with other Churches:

"Blessed be God, there is no difference *in any* essential matter "between the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. "We accord in every point of Christian doctrine without the least "variation: their public confession and ours are sufficient convictions "to the world of our full and absolute agreement. The only "difference is in the form of outward administration, wherein also "we are so far agreed, as that, we all profess this form *not to be* "*essential to the being of a Church*, though much importing the *well* "or *better* being of it, according to our several apprehensions thereof;

"and that we do all retain a reverence and loving opinion of each "other in our several ways—not seeing any reason why so poor a "diversity should work any alienation of affection in us one towards "another."*

To conclude this review of the Savoy Conference—the main objects proposed in holding it, viz., the union of religious parties, had been entirely lost sight of. The Church Establishment was in a certain way consolidated; a few blemishes were removed; but the aspect of the Established Church, both toward the Reformed Churches abroad and toward the Ultra-Reformers at home, was become only more harsh and repulsive than before. Not only was much mischief done by want of tact and consideration about the recognition of Presbyterian Ordination, but the tone of the new regulations in the Church was so sharp, and the renunciation of the forms and terms connected with Presbyterian Church Government was so marked; the actual concessions in their favour so insignificant; the alteration to meet their views so unimportant, or even so retrograde in character, and some of them so utterly distasteful, "that it was proposed, on the behalf of the Non-Conformists, in the House of Lords, that the existing Liturgy should be continued, and all the corrections made in Convocation should be abandoned."†

Thus unsatisfactorily to all parties, except to the extreme section of high churchmen, ended the Savoy Conference.

* Bishop Hall's Works, by Pratt, Vol. 8, p. 56, as quoted by Fisher on Liturgical Purity, p. 506. Second Edition.

† Cardwell's Conferences, p. 388.

CHAPTER VIII.

The ejection of many ministers in consequence of the requirements of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. *Sundry attempts for reconciliation of the Non-Conformists, The last deliberate endeavour for a Revision of the Prayer Book made in* 1689. *The attempt frustrated through the captious conduct and the intemperate opposition of the High Church Party.* 1662—1689.

We have seen that the revision made at the close of the Savoy Conference failed to satisfy, or to conciliate the numerous dissentients from the formularies of the Establishment: and that the Act of Uniformity, which was passed soon afterwards, was calculated to enhance the dissatisfaction. Upon the passing of that Act, a large body of ministers who might otherwise have sided with the restored Episcopalians, felt it impossible any longer to occupy a position in the Established Church. Many eminent divines and truly christian ministers were excluded, in consequence of their convictions not allowing them to comply with the stringent requisitions of that act. It must not, however, be omitted that no small number of them had been originally Presbyterian and Dissenting Ministers, who had occupied the Churches during the Commonwealth, from which the Episcopal Clergy had been driven. Still if less stringent measures had been taken, it is probable that many of them would have given

an honest adhesion to the establishment now it was restored, especially if that restoration had been followed by judicious reforms.

The disruption caused by their enforced withdrawal, was a weakening of the establishment; and a reinforcement of dissent. Although the ministers who retired were of various dissenting persuasions, the general term of *Non-Conformists* was adopted as characterizing the movement.

From that date to the present, there has been no efficient revision, or general reform of the Services, and of the government of the Church. There have been a few attempts however in that direction, which I must proceed to notice.

There was in 1668 a faint preliminary attempt to remedy the evil introduced by the act of Uniformity, and to conciliate the Non-Conformists. In this movement, the Episcopal divines, Tillotson and Stillingfleet united with the Non-Conformist divines Bates, Manton and Baxter, proposing terms of accommodation with the excluded Protestants, to be brought before the Legislature by the Lord Keeper Bridgman, and the Chief Baron Sir M. Hale. The Speech from the throne commended this to Parliament. Charles II. attempted thus to press forward the conciliatory measures, which he had promised in the declaration he had put forth upon his Restoration. "One thing more I hold myself "obliged to recommend to you at this present, which "is that you would seriously think of some course "to beget a better union and composure in the minds

of my protestant subjects in matters of religion." But the nation had been so tired out and dissatisfied with the recent proceedings of the Savoy Conference, and the confusions thence arising, that the House of Commons which had been elected since the Restoration, irritated against their political and religious adversaries, presented first an address in favour of the Act of Uniformity as it stood, and then another *against* Papists and Non-Conformists.

In 1673, toward the close of Charles II.'s reign the attempt at conciliation was renewed. A Bill for the relief of Dissenters passed through the House of Commons, and was read a third time in the Lords, but the Parliament was prorogued before it was officially adopted.

In 1675, a measure of the same nature was resumed under the patronage of Bishops Pearson, Morley, and Ward, and some of the principal Peers; but it was found hopeless to proceed with it. Bishop Pearson, the author of the Exposition of the Creed, entertained conciliatory views toward the Non-Conformists, but he died before the last attempt at Revision was made in the reign of William and Mary.

There is little to record in the short intervening reign of James II. The seven Bishops indeed addressed their memorable Petition to that Monarch in 1688. While they repudiated in that Petition the King's Proclamation of Liberty of Conscience (which was designed to favour Popery), they made declaration at the same time that "there was in themselves no

want of due tenderness toward Dissenters, with whom they were willing to come to such a temperate accommodation as should be thought fit, when that matter should have been considered and settled in Parliament and in Convocation."

The last attempted Revision and effort for reconciling the Non-Conformists.

In 1689 we came to the last deliberate effort, made in William and Mary's reign for revising the Liturgy, abolishing objectionable regulations, and reuniting the Non-Conformists with their brethren of the Establishment. Dean Tillotson (afterwards Archbishop) who had patronized the two preceding movements, was a principal promoter of this present attempt to enlarge the boundaries of the Church. Archbishop Sancroft and several other dignitaries had appeared to favour the project, but the sincerity of Sancroft is very doubtful. The recent fears of the revival of Popery, doubtless contributed to produce a willingness for union among Protestants; while the fact of a strong party of the Clergy being still attached to the Stuart dynasty, caused considerable anxiety to the government of William III. Archbishop Sancroft, eight Bishops, and four hundred Clergymen, (known thenceforth as the Non-Jurors on account of their conscientious refusal to break their sworn allegiance to the Stuarts, and to take an oath of allegiance to the House of Orange) retired at this juncture from the Established Church; rendered it all the more expedient that an effort should be made to reinforce the Establishment by

making it so expansive, as to comprehend again in it the Non-Conformists or Dissenters. King William, both from principle and from prudence, would gladly have seen so numerous a portion of his new subjects, as the Non-Conformists were, giving their hearty adhesion to his government. All these considerations rendered it desirable to relax the stringency of the regulations, and the ritualist requirements of the Church, so as to promote religious *union* co-ordinately with religious liberty. By the act of toleration the latter was secured; but it would have been still happier if a comprehension of the dissentients had rendered toleration unnecessary.

In the hope that the desired union could be effected, a Royal Commission was issued to ten Bishops, and twenty other divines, requiring them "to prepare such alterations in the Liturgy and Canons, and to draw up such proposals for the reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts, as might most conduce to the good order, edification, and unity of the Church of England; and to the reconciling as much as possible all differences."

When the committee met, the Bishop of Rochester objected to do anything before Convocation should be assembled; and the Bishop of Winchester with Deans Jane and Aldrich withdrew. The Committee however, proceeded with the work, and finished their labours within two months. Bishop Patrick; Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury; Drs. Kidder, Stillingfleet, and Tennison,

and many other divines, eminent for moderation, assisted in this good work.

The Report of the Commissioners was for a long time kept private, and afterwards was supposed to have been lost. It was, however, a few years ago found at Lambeth Palace, and was published in a Blue book in 1854, by order of Parliament, and copies of it can now be easily obtained, and may furnish many useful suggestions worthy attention whenever a revision of the Prayer Book shall be resumed.

The report proposed numerous alterations and amendments, several indeed of secondary importance, but others of them would have been substantial improvements.

To give a sketch of them,—it was recommended that Lessons should no longer be taken from the Apocrypha: many improvements were suggested in the Collects. The word Minister or Presbyter was to be substituted for 'Priest,' as this latter term is associated with the idea of Sacrifice. 'Lord's Day' was to be substituted for 'Sunday.' The Gloria Patri was no longer to be inserted toward the close of the Litany; a few passages were to be altered, as for instance the responsive versicle, 'Because there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou O God'* was to be changed into 'That we may serve thee

* It has sometimes been stated that this clause was introduced into the Liturgy in the time of Edward VI., when England was about to be invaded by Charles V., the King of France, and the Regent of Scotland. But it had existed long previous to that date in the York and Salisbury Breviaries, and in the Primer of Henry VIII. as well as in Foreign Breviaries.

without fear all the days of our lives.' The sentence in the Prayer for the Clergy 'who alone workest great marvels,' was to be changed into 'from whom cometh every good and perfect gift. The phrase 'Lord God of Sabaoth' in the Te Deum, to be put in plain language 'Lord God of hosts,' and sundry other obsolete words to be changed. The high titles of dignity given to the Sovereign 'most gracious,' 'most religious,' and the term 'Royal Highness' were noted to be discontinued.

A shorter lesson was to be allowed in the Office for Burial, on certain occasions, when a long Service is undesirable. The words of confident assurance, and thanksgivings for the removal from this world of all who died, were also to be discontinued.

The Report of the Commissioners did not propose to *remove* altogether the damnatory clauses from the Athanasian Creed; but explained that they were to be understood to apply only to rejectors of the Christian faith in its totality, not to objectors to a few particular points of it: nor did they propose adequately to amend the Services for Baptism and Confirmation, or the Catechism.

The unqualified character of the absolution in the Visitation of the Sick, was strongly marked for correction. The Committee admitted that it had been an exaggerated assumption of authority to use such a form of absolution, which had not the support of primitive usage. Indeed absolution had been considered rather as a Prayer for God's absolution during

the early centuries of the Christian æra, than declaratory of actual pardon. (See Appendix.) The commissioners pronounced the introduction of the words in the Ordination Service for Priests. "Receive the Holy Ghost, &c., * * * * „whose sins thou dost forgive" &c., to be an unwarranted assumption made by uninspired men in the darkest ages of Popery. Though these words are recorded as having been used by Jesus to his immediate Apostles, there is no intimation in Scripture that equal power and authority should be communicated throughout all ages, from one generation of Pastors to another. The suggestion, therefore, was made by the Commissioners, that if expressions of absolution were to be retained, and such conveyance of spiritual authority asserted, they should at least be reduced to the shape of *prayer for God to do*, what the Priest had hitherto assumed the pretension of doing. They proposed thus to reduce within proper limits the supra-official authority which many of the Clergy had arrogated to themselves.

It was suggested that whenever there was no communion, the Commandments should be read from the Reading Desk, not from the Chancel; and that when there is a Communion, the eight Beatitudes as expressed in the fifth chapter of Matthew, or the sixth chapter of Luke, "Blessed are the poor in Spirit, &c.," should be read with a specially appropriate response to each clause, as "Blessed are the poor in Spirit, &c.," Response, "Lord have mercy upon us, and endue us with a humble and contented Spirit, (or) by a uniform

response to them all, "Lord have mercy upon us, and make us partakers of this blessing;" (and after the last,) "Lord have mercy upon us, and endue us with all these graces, and make us partakers of the blessedness promised to them, we humbly beseech thee."

Though it may be desirable to read the Commandments twice a month or so, it would be an improvement to vary the service, by alternating it in the above way, by Gospel teaching.

It is undeniable that in our Psalms, and frequent readings from the Old Testament, and the constant reiteration of the Commandments without gospel explanations as to the fulfilment of the spirit of them, as well as the letter—without explaining the difference of the rewards pronounced under the Christian Dispensation, and its special temperament of Jewish ordinances,—there is danger of inculcating a mere Jewish morality, and even substituting it for gospel charity and gospel spirituality.

They suggested a query also, whether the Minister may not be directed to use in the pulpit before the Sermon the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant, &c., accommodated to the purpose: or some other such prayer?

If any should object to receive the Sacrament, kneeling at the table, he might on certifying the said objection to the Clergyman, receive it at his ordinary place in Church without kneeling.

Any also that conscientiously objected to the use to the Cross in Baptism, might in their case have it omitted.

The revision of the Collects was most extensive, scarcely one remaining without some change; and an entirely new Collect was proposed in many cases. The general feature in these alterations is the lengthening of the Collect by the introduction of phrases from the Epistle and Gospel. To give an example, the following is the proposed lengthening of the first Collect for Good Friday, and it appears to me as likely to be more edifying to the congregation:—"Almighty God, the Father of mercies, we beseech Thee graciously to hear the prayers of thy Church, for which our Lord Jesus was content to be betrayed and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the cross; and according to that new covenant which he sealed there with his precious blood, put Thy laws into all our hearts, and write them in our minds; and then remember our sins and iniquities no more; for the sake of Him who, when He had offered one sacrifice for sin, for ever sat down on Thy right hand, and now liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end."

In the place of the short ancient Collect for the Sunday next before Advent:—"Stir up, we beseech &c;" this augmented form was to be substituted.

'O eternal God, who are faithful and true, and according to Thy gracious promises, hast raised up a glorious deliverer to us, who is the Lord our Righteousness; we beseech Thee to stir up the wills of Thy faithful people, that bringing forth plenteously the fruit of good works, they may be a people prepared for the Lord: and we pray Thee, hasten His kingdom when He shall reign and prosper, and execute judgment and justice in all the earth. Grant this for Thy infinite mercies sake in Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee, O Father, and the Holy Ghost, be eternal praise.'

The following additional suffrages were to be inserted in the Litany:—

'From all infidelity and error, from all impiety and profaneness, from all superstition and idolatry,'

Good Lord deliver us.

'From drunkenness and gluttony, from sloth and misspending of our time, from fornication, adultery and all uncleanness,'

Good Lord, &c.

'From lying and slandering, from vain swearing, cursing and perjury, from covetousness, oppression, and all injustice,'

Good Lord, &c.

'Sudden death' is altered in these words, 'dying suddenly and unprepared.' 'By the coming of the Holy Ghost' is altered; 'By Thy sending of the Holy Ghost, and by Thy continual intercession at the right hand of God,'

'That it may please Thee to take their Majesties forces by sea and land into Thy most gracious protection, and to make them victorious over all our enemies;'

We beseech Thee, &c.

'That it may please Thee to incline and enable us to pray alway with fervent affection, in everything to give thanks, to depend upon Thee, and trust in Thee, to delight ourselves in Thee, and cheerfully to resign ourselves to Thy holy will and pleasure;'

We beseech Thee, &c.

'That it may please Thee to endue us with the graces of humility and meekness, of contentedness and

patience, of true justice, of temperance and purity, of peaceableness and charity;'

We beseech Thee, &c.

'That it may please Thee to show thy pity upon all prisoners and captives, upon all that are persecuted for truth and righteousness sake, upon all that are in affliction;'

We beseech Thee, &c.

We learn the nature of the Concessions which the liberal and enlightened portion of Churchmen had been willing to make, from the paper which Tillotson drew up, in anticipation of offering them to the Non-Conformists. The following are the points they were willing to grant—

1.—Ceremonies to be left indifferent.

2.—To review the Liturgy, and remove all ground of exception; to leave out Apocryphal lessons, and to correct the translation of the Psalms.

3.—Ministers only to subscribe *one* general declaration of submission to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England, and promise to teach and practise accordingly.

4.—To make a new body of canons.

5.—To regulate the ecclesiastical courts.

6.—That those who have been ordained in any of the reformed churches, be not required to be re-ordained here, to render them capable of preferment in this Church.

7.—But none to be capable of ecclesiastical preferment, that shall be ordained in England otherwise than by Bishops.

Now without alleging that these are all the reforms that was required, they certainly are the avowal of the desirableness of several important alterations.

The general reader will gain from the above proposition of concession, and from the alterations proposed, sufficient insight into the nature of the Revision then sought.*

However well their project for improving the Prayer Book was drawn up, it remained for the Commissioners to submit their report to Convocation; afterwards to obtain the sanction of Parliament.

Before we pass on to see how the Report of the Commissioners was received in the houses of Convocation, a few remarks upon the chief characters and circumstances of the times must be given, in order to enable the reader to understand the strange failure of so deserving a project. He otherwise would be somewhat at a loss to account for the great acrimony and violent party spirit, amid which the attempted revision of 1689 concluded. For the features of that movement are but dimly portrayed in most histories of the time,—and the principles of the chief actors in it are not fully recorded.

In order then that the reader may correctly understand the true bearings of the matter, I must invite his attention to the character of the parties concerned in it, and briefly point out the springs of action that were at work.

* The Student who desires more accurate particulars will find them in the official Blue Book, of the Proceedings of the Committee in 1689, which was published by order of Parliament in 1854.

He is probably aware that the King was decidedly in favour of adapting the Ecclesiastical Rules, and the Services of the Prayer Book for the comprehension of Dissenters in the Established Church. William had been brought up in the Presbyterian Church of Holland, and he was also by the convictions of his own mind disposed in non-essentials to recognize liberty of judgment in others, not expecting that all could be brought to a strict uniformity of sentiment. He was also sensible that it was owing greatly to the Low Church party and to the Non-Conformists, that his accession to the throne had been facilitated; whereas on the contrary, the High Church party had been to the last zealous upholders of the Stuarts; and had, under the most tyrannical aggressions, preached the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. William did not approve the pomp and musical parade which too frequently prevail in the Services of the High Church party; and he was on conviction opposed to the great and exclusive pretensions of the Episcopal Clergy. In return the high party of the Clergy were ready to disparage and misrepresent the views take by their Sovereign. According to their version of the case, "The King was not sound, he had "the Service said or read—not sung. He was so pro- "fane as to disregard one of the ancient institutions of "the Church—he sneered at touching for the King's "Evil, for which a regular Service had been provided, "at which was read part of St. Mark's Gospel, xvi. 14., "to end of chapter, in which occur these words—'They "shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover,' "with Prayers, Antiphons, and a Benediction." (See Hook's Dictionary.)

We can imagine some eloquent High Churchman of those days remonstrating against the scepticism of such opinions, and declaring that "he would not surrender one word contained in our sacred Prayer Book, and time-honoured Institutions."

It was declared that William III. was not even to be compared with Charles II., for *he* had touched thousands of the sick,—"*he* had even once touched a scrofulous quaker and made him in a moment a healthy man, and ever afterwards a sound Churchman." * William however would not countenance the delusion. He was prevailed upon to touch one applicant, but he accompanied the action with these words:—"God give you better health and more sense." In fact he regarded it as a vain superstition, and would not lend his countenance to an imposture: so bigots lifted up their hands and eyes at his impiety;—and the High Churchmen regarded him as a conceited puritan, or an infidel.

Though opposed and calumniated, we learn from one of the most enlightened of our historians, that "He was bent upon effecting three great reforms in the laws affecting ecclesiastical matters. His first object was to obtain for Dissenters permission to celebrate their worship in freedom and security; his second, to make such changes in the Anglican Ritual and polity, as without offending those to which that ritual and polity were dear, might conciliate the moderate Non-Conformists; his third object was to throw open the civil offices to Pro-

* This delusion was kept up among the ignorant by the retention of the said Service in the Prayer Book of Queen Ann, and not removed from the Prayer Book, till George I.'s time.

testants without distinction of sect. All his three objects were good; the first only was at that time attainable."*.

Toleration was at once granted to Non-Conformists, to as great extent as the half-enlightened views of that age permitted. His *third* point was not carried till 1828, in the reign of George IV., by the repeal of the test and corporation acts. His second point is yet to be waited for.

It remains now to trace the factious manœuvres which were used to thwart that measure in 1689.

As the claims put forward for amendments in the Liturgical Services were in many respects reasonable, and carried the conviction of impartial persons with them, far more than the claims preferred at the Hampton Court and the Savoy Conferences had done, one might have expected they would have been more favourably received. On the contrary, however, they met with opposition more decided, and rejection more absolute. Why was this? The secret of it is, that the High Church party were resolved to oppose all concession to those against whom they felt a pique as their rivals, both in religion and politics; and were moreover so discontented with William, that they bent themselves with eagerness to disappoint his object, and to thwart his project for union among Protestants. We may trace this bitterness of opposition in the conduct of Compton, Bishop of London, who was President of the Upper House (in consequence of Sancroft's absence as a Non-

* Lord Macaulay's History of England, Vol. iii, Chap. xi, p. 74. Anno 1689.

juror,) and in the factious cavils of Dr. Jane, Prolocutor or President of the Lower House of Convocation, and also in the joint address which both houses returned to the King's gracious proposition.

1st.—Compton, Bishop of London, had been the tutor of the Princesses, Mary and Anne: had also promoted to the best of his ability the interest of the Prince of Orange; but upon the prospect of the vacancy of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, it became known that Dean Tillotson, who had the full confidence of the King and Queen, was to be prefered to the Primacy, and he could not master his disappointed feelings, but allowed them to embitter him against William, and to make him a party to the discomfiture of the project of which the King and Tillotson were the promoters.

2nd.—As Compton was adverse to the success of the measure in the Upper House, an equally ardent opposer was prepared to obstruct its success in the Lower House of Convocation: this was Dr. Jane, Dean of Gloucester, the same who had withdrawn from the committee when they first met to draw up their report. (*p.* 158.)

It may be interesting to trace a little of his career.

He had originally, after graduating at Oxford, been a devoted adherent of the high Church party, and was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity; moreover he received a Deanery as his guerdon. It was in this earlier part of his career that this modest Churchman had the narrow bigotry and discreditable taste to cause the works of Milton and Buchanan to be publicly burnt in the Schools or Examination Halls of the University

of Oxford; in order to vent his abhorrence of the theories which they had advocated. He was however so politically complaisant, that on William's accession he for a time devoted his best energies to follow the successful triumph of those very theories—of civil and religious liberty: so much so that it was quaintly said, that he resembled the double faced Janus of the ancients, for "he obtained a Deanery by looking one way, and looked the other way for a Bishopric." He in fact boldly claimed one, and finding his claim met by a refusal, he turned back again to resume his advocacy of High Church principles.

When appointed in compliment to his station one of the Committee, we have seen how he withdrew from it. He now came forward again when Convocation met on the fourth of December; and we shall see the reflection of his spirit and character in the factious opposition of the Lower House.

A violent struggle was begun at its first opening, for the nomination of the Prolocutor or President of the Lower House. On the part of the moderate friends of liberty, Tillotson was proposed as best qualified for the office, but Dr. Jane being prepared for fierce opposition to the Dissenters, was chosen through strong party interest. When the Upper House of Convocation sent down an address which they had prepared to thank His Majesty "for his zeal for the Protestant "Religion in general, and the Church of England in "particular," (words re-echoing the Royal message) the Lower House required the expression to be altered

in the responsive address, as they "disowned all com-"munion with foreign Churches, and did not admit "various communities of Anabaptists, Quakers, &c., to "be Churches at all."

There was much difficulty before the two Houses of Convocation could come to any agreement on it, but at last a cold and ungracious address was sent in reply to the King's message.

The Lower House next objected that, since the Archbishop and eight of the Bishops were absent, not having taken the oath of allegiance, the Upper House thus deprived of about half its members, was not competent to act. In fact they kept up for ten days a constant series of objections to whatever was proposed. The Prelates and the London Clergy were desirous that some concessions should be made to the Non-Conformists; but the rural Clergy, like the country mouse, imagined that the town mice wanted to evince their superiority over them.

In the mean time it was not forgotten by many of the Episcopalians, how severely and tyrannically the Presbyterians had exercised their power when they were in the supremacy, during the Commonwealth, (see pages 123, 124, 128); and there were even at this very juncture, indications in Scotland of an outburst of popular fury of the covenanters, against all members and every vestige of the Episcopal Church. It is true that their violence did not break out into a general flame till about a fortnight after Convocation was prorogued; but

enough was known of their temperament to destroy the sympathy of those who would have favoured them.

With these unhappy indications in the North, and such an irregulated body of Clergy factiously disputing over every point in Convocation, it was manifest that the objects were not likely to be carried out, which Dr. Beveridge had so strongly recommended at its commencement. He had urged the desirableness of their striving to unite a scattered fold under one shepherd; —to remove stumbling blocks from the path of the weak;—to reconcile hearts long estranged. But they were pursuing a course diametrically opposite.

They continued their unseemly contentions till the thirteenth of December, after which the King adopted the only alternative left him, that of proroguing their Session; and he prevented any future renewal of the strife by successive prorogations.

Thus the Commission issued by King William (the last attempt made by authority for a general revison of the Liturgy), was through the intemperate opposition of the Lower House of Convocation, most unworthily and completely frustrated.

We here close the actual History of the Prayer Book, and of the Revisions that have been carried out, or attempted, up to the close of the year 1689. Since that date, however, the project of Revision and Reform has from time to time been advocated, and brought by individuals, or by aggregate bodies of Petitioners, before the Governors of the Church, and before Parliament.

CHAPTER IX.

Record of the Statements of many eminent men, and of public movements from 1689 *to* 1864, *in recommendation of alterations in the Prayer Book, or of relaxation of the forms of subscription.*

I wish now to present a brief yet faithful record of what has been said and attempted in furtherance of improvements in our Prayer Book, by individuals of note and character, or by any association of individuals during the last 200 years nearly. I shall endeavour to throw my statement into as readable a form as it admits, without sacrificing the identification of the opinions with the individual who advanced them. If the general reader finds it tedious and too desultory in subject, he can glance at the general purport of this chapter, and pass on to the next.

Testimonies at the close of the 17*th Century.*

Bishop Burnet strongly objected to the form used in the Ordination Service, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whosoever sins," &c., and he declares that it was not used in the Anglican Church before the eleventh or twelfth Century. He also objected to the authoritative form of Absolution.

Dr. Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, upon the rejection of the proposed Revision in 1689, expostulated against the damnatory sentences in the Athanasian Creed.

Archbishop Tillotson wrote thus, 'The account given of Athanasius' Creed seems to be in no wise satisfactory. I wish we were well rid of it.'

The separation of the Whitfield and Wesleyan Methodists from the National Church.

1729 to 1741. The formation of the large religious societies, the Wesleyan and Whitfield Methodists, and the followers of the Countess of Huntingdon, arose from their leaders Messrs. John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and Whitfield having found their energies fettered in the Established Church. They professed attachment to the Articles and Liturgy of the national establishment, and it was several years before they decidedly avowed separation from it. Indeed to the present day a few Wesleyans attend some of the services of the Church, and receive in it the Holy Communion. Some few congregations of the above named societies use our Liturgy with abbreviations of it. By unwise strictness and unbending regulations, a million of our population are now separated from the national communion, and have become members of the above societies, acting unavoidably to the disparagement of the Established Church.

Archbishop Secker.

1759 In this and following two years, a strong party advocated revision; when Archbishop Secker thus concisely expressed in his speech to Convocation, his conviction that the Liturgy could, and ought to be improved. "Ornatior quidem, accuratior, plenior, "brevior potest ea fieri, et debet; sed modesta tracta- "tione; sed tranquillis hominum animis, non temerariis, "qualia vidimus, et videmus, ausis; non inter media "dissidia, mutuasque suspiciones." Which may be thus rendered;—"The Liturgy could be made more "elegant, more correct, more copious and shorter, and "it ought to be made so: but this must be done by gentle handling, when men's minds are tranquil; not

with rash experiments, such as we have formerly witnessed and now behold: not while contentions and mutual suspicions are prevalent.

Dr. Paley, afterwards Archdeacon of Carlisle—1773.

In his early career this able eminent writer asserted (anonymously) a conviction of the futility and evil of stringent subscriptions being required of those who undertake the ministry.

He did not afterwards maintain the same views with the openness we could wish, nor is the way satisfactory in which he points out that the subscription may be regarded as stringent only in a few specified particulars. In his Moral and Political Philosophy, he contends that subscription does not infer positive assent to each and every of the many hundreds of controverted propositions, contained in the thirty nine articles; but that the subscriber truly satisfies the intention of the legislature, if he is what the original act required—no abettor of Popery, no Anabaptist, no Puritan hostile to Episcopal Institutions.

This mode of subscription, however, does not approve itself to many conscientious people; and the sentiments which he expressed in his previous anonymous pamphlet are more straightforward and acceptable to them. He there said "Let the Church discharge from her Liturgy controversies unconnected with devotion * * * let her dismiss many of her Articles, and convert those which she retains into terms of peace. He thus describes the encroachment of present requirements:—'Two or three men, betwixt two and three Centuries ago fixed a multitude of obscure and dubious propositions, which many millions after must bring themselves to believe, before they can share in the provision which the state has made (and to which all of every sect contribute) for regular opportunities of public worship, and the

giving and receiving public instruction. And he marks out the following limits to which the restraint of authority may justly be interposed:—'The magistrate 'may require *conformity* to the Liturgy, rites and 'offices which he shall prescribe; may examine the 'qualification and religious principles of candidates for 'orders, may censure extravagant preaching when it 'appears—precautions sufficient to keep the wildest 'sectaries out of the Church.'

Thus he defends the rule laid down by Archdeacon Law. The Church instead of requiring Subscription beforehand, to the present or any other Articles of faith, might censure her Clergy afterwards, if they opposed or vilified them in their preaching. He adds this expostulation:—"You distress and corrupt thousands now, for one that you would ever have occasion to punish."

We find that the same liberty was required in the proposal which was made by the Non-Conformist ministers at the Savoy Conference, 1661, viz.:—"That no oaths or "promises of obedience to the Bishops, nor any un- "necessary subscriptions or engagements be made "necessary to ordination, institution, induction, minis- "tration, communion or immunities of ministers, they "being responsible for any transgression of the Law."

Upon the plea for delay of reform, until more auspicious times, he penned this well known sentence: —"As the man who attacks a flourishing establishment writes with a halter round his neck, (alluding to the utter ruin of a Clergyman's prospects if he proclaims that he does not assent to the subscription required;) few ever will be found to attempt alterations, but men of more spirit than prudence, of more sincerity than caution; of warm, eager, and impetuous tempers; that consequently, if we are to wait for improvement till

the cool, the calm, the discreet part of mankind begin it, till Church Governors solicit, or Ministers of State propose it—I will venture to pronounce, that (without His interposition, with whom nothing is impossible) we may remain as we are till the renovation of all things."

A Defence of the Considerations respecting a Subscription to Articles of Faith.

The Feathers Petition and the discouraging reply of Archbishop Cornwallis.

1772. In this year a Petition was presented to Abp. Cornwallis by several clergymen, some of whom afterwards obtained high stations in the Church (viz., Dr. Porteus, Yorke, and Percy, who were subsequently Bishops of London, Ely, and Dromore,) requesting the Archbishop "To sanction a review of the Liturgy and "Articles, with a request that their wishes might be "signified to the rest of the Bishops, in order that every "thing might be done, which might be prudently and "safely done, to promote those important and salutary "purposes."

The Archbishop's reply, early in the next year, was "I have consulted severally with my brethren the Bishops, and it is the opinion of the Bench in general, that nothing can in prudence be done in the matter that has been submitted to their consideration." This is commonly spoken of as the Feathers Petition, from the meetings of the Petitioners having been held at the Prince's Feathers Tavern, in London.

The following two Prelates survived into the present Century, but their testimony which is subjoined, belonged I believe to the last Century.

"It certainly is to be lamented that assertions of so peremptory a nature, unexplained and unqualified, should have been used in any human composition.

"I am ready to acknowledge that, in my judgment, notwithstanding the authority of former times, our Church would have acted more wisely and more consistently with its general principles of mildness and toleration if it had not adopted the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. Though I firmly believe that the doctrines themselves of this creed are all founded in Scripture, I cannot but conceive it to be both unnecessary and presumptuous to say that, 'except every one do keep this faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.'"

Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff. d. 1816.

"Let no one rashly and injuriously conclude that he who dislikes the Athanasian Creed, and wishes to see it expunged from our Liturgy, does thereby show his disbelief of the doctrine of a Trinity: he may admit the doctrine of a Trinity without admitting the doctrine of the Athanasian Trinity: nay, he may even admit the doctrine of the Athanasian Trinity, and yet reject the Creed for its uncharitableness. It is trifling to say that the damnatory clauses are not parts of the creed, and declare nothing more than the opinion of the composer; for they extend from the beginning to the end of the creed, and denounce damnation against all who do not believe every part of it; and it is evident that the Commissioners, in 1689, understood them to do so, or they would never have proposed that a rubric should be made declaring the curses denounced in the Creed *not to be restrained to any particular article*, but intended against those who deny the substance of the Christian religion in general."

The American Episcopalian Church in consolidating its formation, introduced several very important and sensible improvements upon the Liturgy of the British Church; and a diligent study of their Prayer Book, will well repay the attention of revisionists.

For instance they prepared a course of twelve selections of Psalms, any one of which selections the Minister had the liberty of using in the Services of the Sunday, which he might prefer to those marked out for the special day of the month. This was opening a very beneficial opportunity of omitting some of the psalms, which being purely Jewish in their topics and sentiments, and in their moral tone, are ill-suited for perusal as parts of worship in a christian congregation, or at any rate convey very little edification.

The American Church at the same time proposed to adopt a different class of interrogations to the Sponsors, substituting for the present vicarious and fuller system, the following questions; "Dost thou believe all Articles of the Christian faith as contained in the Apostles creed, and wilt thou endeavour to have this child instructed accordingly?"

"Wilt thou endeavour to have him brought up in the fear of God, and to obey His holy will and commandments?"

The thanksgiving after Baptism, instead of being "We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit" &c. was expressed in the following

words, in the latter clause, "that it hath pleased Thee to receive this infant for thine own child by baptism, and to incorporate him into Thy holy Church,"—and the correspondent reply in the Catechism was still better worded, "at baptism, wherein I became a member of the Christian Church." Previous to Confirmation, it was inquired of the young persons: What was promised for you in baptism?' "That I should be instructed in the Articles of the Christian faith, &c.

The American Episcopal Church, in the ordination of a Priest omitted the words "Receive the Holy Ghost,' and 'whose sins thou dost forgive,' &c., and it used these words, "Take thou authority to execute the office of a Priest, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God."

Some of the above contemplated amendments were however rescinded in deference to the requirements of the English Episcopate, before they consented to consecrate the American Bishops in 1787. The Americans persisted in excluding the Athanasian Creed.

Dr. Copleston, late Bishop of Llandaff.—1833.

Speaking of our Liturgy said,—"Lapse of time has rendered some phrases obsolete, or strange, or improper; condemnation of heretical opinions may have been expressed in stronger terms than is necessary or convenient; the selection of Lessons might certainly be improved, and better adapted to the customary times of attendance on public worship. Above all it would seem productive of many advantages, if the limits of

that discretion already given to the officiating minister in certain parts of the Service, were extended; subject only to the interference of canonical advice and authority, whenever it might be thought expedient to check too great a latitude."

Dr. Blomfield, late Bishop of London.—1834.

"If I were asked what my opinion is as to the expediency of attempting an alteration of the Liturgy, I should be deficient in candour, if I did not acknowledge that I think the Liturgy capable of improvement. It would be little short of a miracle, were it not so. And I know not why I should be ashamed, or reluctant, to avow an opinion, which was entertained by Sancroft, and Stillingfleet, and Tennison, and Wake, and Secker, and Porteus," (all Bishops or Archbishops.)

Archdeacon Berens.—1839.

"Our Morning Services last too long, both in a moral and physical point of view—too long for keeping up a proper degree of attention and devoted feeling: too long physically, inasmuch as to the very old and very young, and to those who labour under a want of health, it often occasions a painful weariness."

Archdeacon Hare.—1835-40.

"Much were it to be wished that certain *double* forms of prayer might be introduced here and there, for the relief of scrupulous consciences; painfully wounded by the present forms to which they are restricted." Speaking of the Act of Uniformity he says, "Ere long all hope (of unity) was blasted by that second most disastrous, most tyrannical and schismatical Act of Uniformity, (1662,) the authors of which it is plain,

were not seeking unity, but † division * * * requiring that all ministers should solemnly declare their assent, and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Common Book of Prayer. * * * Some two thousand ministers, comprising the chief part of the most faithful and zealous of the land were silenced or driven from their flocks in one day. * * * "From that day we date the origin of that constituted dissent and schism, which is the peculiar opprobrium and calamnity of our Church."

To which the Archdeacon added this curious observation:—

"The age which enacted this rigid Ecclesiastical uniformity was addicted, as might be imagined, to the practice of uniformalising all things. It tried to uniformalise men's heads by dressing them out in full-bottomed wigs; it tried to uniformalise trees, by cutting them into regular shapes. It could not bear the free growth and luxuriance of nature. Yet even trees, if they have life, disregard their Act of Uniformity, and put forth leaves and branches according to their kinds, so that the shears have constant work to clip their excrescences. None submit quietly except the dead."

Dr. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury.—1854.

"Alterations might be advisable in many things con-

† Confirmatory of this assertion that the advisers of the Act were rather seeking to divide than to unite, is the anecdote, that when the Lord Chamberlain said to King Charles II., that, he was afraid the terms of it were so strict, that many of the ministers would not comply with it, Bishop Sheldon replied, 'I am afraid they *will*,' and when Dr. Allen remarked to the same Bishop, 'It is a pity the door is so strait,' he answered "It is no pity at all; it we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter." From Rev. T. Davis's excellent pamphlet, "Common Prayer and Common Sense."—(Longman's, 1862.)

nected with the Church. There might be improvements in some parts of our excellent Liturgy. His impression was that a Commission, selected by her Majesty, of ten or twenty persons, clergymen and laymen, might well consider the matters requiring attention. Parliament would have finally to regulate about the Act of Uniformity."

At convocation in 1858, the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed that the Lord's Prayer occurred too frequently in the Morning Service, and might be omitted before the Sermon.

His Grace in speaking in the House of Lords, 1860, candidly avowed his preference generally for the alterations made in our Prayer Book by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.

Dr. Milman, Dean of St. Pauls.—1855.

"Nobody has a greater admiration for the Liturgy of our Church than I have, but I cannot conceal from myself that there are certain blemishes in it. I have come to the opinion than an early Reform is the best conservatism: and I believe that every blemish we can remove would endear the whole Liturgy the more to the people of England. There cannot be a doubt of the result, a consummation most devoutly to be wished, God grant I may live to see it."

Dr. Griffin, Bishop of Limerick.—1857.

"Such then are my reasons for considering that the time has now arrived when increased knowledge, increased intelligence, and, in consequence, increased spirit of inquiry have rendered such revision necessary, seeing that it may fairly be hoped that discussion may now be conducted with calmness and forbearance, &c."

"As to the Book of Common Prayer, properly so called, notwithstanding the increased desire for its revision, there has been no authorized change, beyond that embodied in the two resolutions of the Bishops and Archbishops, issued in May, 1856, sanctioning a slight departure from established usage in the division of the services, principally the Morning Service * * * * Under the most free interpretation, it is not much that is herein abated of the stiffness of our ritual. But even this slender concession has not been without its use in abridging in some churches the wearying length of the Morning Service, to the relief alike of the Clergy and the Laity, in bringing the Litany (assuredly the most solemn and touching of all uninspired compilations of Prayer and intercession) before distinct congregations of worshippers, and in placing within the reach of numbers, previously debarred from it—access to the Holy Communion in the Evening, the only time in the day when, through no fault of their own, they could be present at its administration. * * * * The exigencies of modern times require such changes, and the question is only how they may be effected with least violence to that reverential and almost superstitious respect for our Book of Common Prayer, which looks upon it as something too hallowed for human hands to touch."

The Letter of the Hon. and Rev. Atherton Legh Powys, to Lord Palmerston—1859 *(Hatchard.)*

Has the following striking remarks respecting the prevalence of Romanising sentiments and usages:—

"Now, my Lord, the Romanising party amongst ourselves justify their position, and take their stand upon the *litera scripta* of the Prayer Book. They defy

Queen and Parliament, Heaven or Earth, to move them from their present position, so long as that Prayer Book remains *unaltered.* Dr. Pusey throws down the gauntlet, and "*defies his opponents to destroy or weaken Tractarianism, so long as that jewel, the Prayer Book, remains unaltered.*"

Mr. Powys adds:—"Taking some of the statements made in the Prayer Book simply *as they stand,* and as they would be *understood* in their grammatical and literal sense, not by *divines,* but by the *masses of plain untutored men,* Dr. Pusey's logic is unanswerable; his position cannot legally be turned; his entrenchment is unassailable; they deliberately undermine the foundation of Scriptural religion, and quote the Prayer Book as their justifying plea.

"Depend on it, my Lord, the reforms suggested by some of the leading members of the present Houses of Convocation fall miserably short of what the necessities of the case require. They neither go far enough, deep enough, nor do they touch the real sources of mischief and shortcoming. The Cathedral Commission is good; the Duke of Marlborough's propositions, many of them, good; but I feel convinced the great body of the sound-hearted members of the Church are anxiously looking for something more,—they will *never rest satisfied* till they have a Prayer Book expunged of all *apparent Popish element,* and *accommodated to the present requirements of society.*"

Lord Lyttelton.—1860.

Lord Lyttelton, in the debate on Lord Ebury's motion for a Royal Commission, (May 8th, 1860,) is reported to have said, that "upon this and similar questions he could not hold the doctrine of finality. He could not conceive why any organized body like the Church of

England should be deprived of that freedom which seemed naturally to belong to it, to deal with its Formularies and standards—matters of human origin and composition; while, with respect to the question of time, he thought Churchmen of the present day were as well qualified to treat these subjects as the men of the Reformation, of the Hampton Court Conference, or the Savoy Conference."

Dr. Vaughan, Chancellor of York Cathedral.

"How many of those, whose character, whose gifts, and whose education, and, we are sure also in some cases, whose inclination destined them for that useful and honorable service (the profession of a clergyman) are seen to turn away from it, when the time comes. Anything rather than that; no obscurity, no drudgery deters them from any other calling, so that they may escape the necessity of declaring themselves to believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, or to assent with all their hearts to the prescribed order of our Church's worship."

Lord Shaftesbury.—1862.

In reference to the demand for Liturgical Revision, Lord Shaftesbury, in the debate upon Lord Ebury's Bill for amending the Act of Uniformity, said that, "unless something analogous to this proposal—he would not say precisely this Bill—were adopted to satisfy tender consciences, he was convinced they would not be able to maintain the integrity of the Church. It was very desirable that the attention of the Clergy and the country at large should be directed to this subject, and he felt satisfied that in no long space of time the great body of the Clergy and a considerable proportion of the episcopal bench would acquiesce in some measure of this kind for affording relief to tender consciences. No

doubt the young men who now offered themselves for Ordination were well qualified for the office they sought, but it should be remembered that those who had scruples against subscription did not offer themselves at all for Ordination."

Ven. O. Davys, Archdeacon of Northampton,—1862.

In reference to one branch of our subject, viz., that of relaxing clerical subscription, said, "What may be the effects of an alteration of the terms of subscription, it is not given me to foresee. For myself I would, not unwillingly, admit any good man into the ministry who would subscribe to the XXXIX Articles, and declare that he approved of the Liturgy more than of any other book of public Prayers, and that he would consent to use it, and no other in the public services of the Church. Nor would evil follow in these times, I think, if the declaration we are required to make were the only one. 'I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England and Ireland.' We should not then have to regret the departure of so many good men from the Church."

The Rev. C. Girdlestone, Rector of Kingswinford,

Has thus depicted the slavish bondage or evasions to which the Clergy are reduced by the subscriptions required of them, and afterwards points out the Revision that is necessary. (Longmans.)

"Thus the law of articles, canons, offices, liturgy, and rubrics, remains unchanged in any jot or tittle. The multitudinous propositions of the XXXIX Articles, vouching amongst other things for the orthodoxy of the Homilies, must all be assented to, and signed, as heretofore, by every aspirant for office in our Church. In the reading of the Scriptures to the congregation,

translated as they are from the originals, the minister may on no account alter a single phrase, however surely he may be persuaded, on the authority of every competent judge, that it is a palpable mistranslation. No one clause in the liturgy or offices is he permitted to omit or qualify, however painfully he may feel the prescribed expression to be incongruous with the place, the time, or the case, or inconsistent with his own convictions, and with those of the multitudes amongst whom he is officiating. He may not do so lawfully; he is not permitted by the letter of the law."

As to Revision he says, "It is still true, that the most important reform of all is to revise the morning and evening services and the offices. In these let there be no longer any vain repetitions. Let no expressions therein occur, such as the worshippers in general cannot readily apprehend, or heartily enter into. Let no portion of the Apocrypha be read as if it were part and parcel of the Bible. Introduce prayers and thanksgivings, on some subjects of vital import, almost, if not entirely, ignored in our present ritual. Let there be less of sameness in the two services for the morning and the evening. And let a third service be provided, if not a fourth also, with a duly regulated liberty to vary their use, according to the requirements of different congregations. Erase all words that have long proved badges of party, and topics of strife; estranging from each other those within the same fold, and excluding multitudes who might have otherwise come into it. Leave nothing calculated to prevent men who are of one heart in fundamentals, though of many minds in matters of comparative indifference, from worshipping all together, at once "with the spirit and with the understanding also." Reform everything that is wrong in itself, everything that would be better altered if there were no

dissenter in the land. Alter some things that are actually indifferent, if by so doing many might be won, who consider them matters of importance. Whatsoever of Romish origin was at the first inserted, in order to satisfy a Romanist generation, must now be left out. And alterations made afterwards by Laudian divines, with the avowed intent of excluding protestant dissenters, must be obliterated, so that no trace of them be left."

Dr. Baring, now Bishop of Durham, in his charge when Bishop of Gloucester, (Seeley, London.)—1860.

His Lordship says, "The further Revision of the Liturgy has been strongly recommended by persons of learning and piety at various times since the last Revision in 1662. Indeed, all true friends of the Church must, *in the abstract*, be advocates of Revision. However wedded to those forms which they rightly cherish as one of the greatest blessings which they have inherited from their forefathers, they can hardly deny that there are some alterations which would render the Prayer Book more perfect; and they must esteem it as a service done to the Church, of no little moment, if any defect in her ritual were remedied, any acknowledged deficiency supplied, any change made, by which, without the sacrifice of what is essential, the prejudices of separatists might be removed, and the peace and unity of the Church secured."

The Two Bills presented by Lord Ebury.—1862.

The next plan for Revision is that which Lord Ebury attached to the Bill he presented in the House of Lords in 1862. I speak of the Permissive Bill for amending the regulations of Public Worship. A schedule was therewith submitted, containing proposals for

numerous alterations in the order and distribution of the Services. The Bishop of Oxford however assailed the proposal so vehemently, that the House of Lords appeared to be frightened into a coldness of reception, which caused Lord Ebury to relinquish the measure. The public at the time hardly seemed to comprehend the real purport of it, and it has apparently dropped into unmerited oblivion.

No candid examination of this moderate proposal was given to it either in or out of the House. Yet that Bill—the Permissive Bill about alteration in Public Worship contained several admirable suggestions*—suggestions that must be adopted sooner or later. For the intelligent portions of our congregations will surely not submit much longer to the crude arrangements—the senseless repetitions—the ill-adjusted order and tiresome prolixity of our Public Worship. Variety and truthfully appropriate language must be introduced; the remnants of Judaic bigotry and Roman Catholic ceremonialism must be discarded; the Minister must be allowed more discretion in the use of words and formularies; or the Established Church will be characterised as a stagnant slough of prejudices—a dead sea, in which intellectual life and spirituality are quenched and expire.

Perhaps the failure of the Bill to carry conviction in its favour arose from the character of its proposition not being sufficiently developed to interest the attention of the laity. The laity are hardly prepared to contemplate a scheme of improvements which are expressed

* See the Ingoldsby Letters, vol. 2, pages 307—324.

only in propositions. Had the proposed new Services been in full form placed before the public mind, they would probably have met with a better appreciation.

Lord Ebury's motion in the House of Lords, in 1862 for mitigating the Act of Uniformity, had 50 Peers to support it. He urges the adoption of a less stringent form of subscription, similar to that required in the Protestant Church of America:—

"When our North American colonies separated from Great Britain, and their Church had to reconsider its whole position, after very much deliberation and careful consideration, they did away with the whole of their former code of subscriptions, and substituted in lieu of them this very simple and sensible form; it is very like a form proposed by Lord Nottingham and Tillotson at the end of the seventeenth century, which is to be found in the records of your Lordships' House, but is an improvement even on that:—"I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do sincerely engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

With the alteration of the last word 'States' to 'Kingdom,' this would do for us.

Reverting to his former Bill I may state that Lord Ebury has shewn that the Liturgy requires revision, re-arrangement and curtailment: he reminds us that two Creeds occur in our Morning Service; the Collect for the day is twice repeated; the Sovereign often prayed for three times; several other classes prayed for twice

or oftener; the Lord's Prayer, five or six times repeated; the Gloria Patri, too frequently, &c.

He urged that three or four thousand of our Clergy petitioned the Bench of Bishops in vain for reasonable alteration in our Burial Service.

His Lordship's exertions in the good cause of Revision are well known to all who have watched the progress of that question. It will confirm the importance of His Lordship's movement, when I state that he is supported by above 300 clerical and lay associates of the Metropolitan Association for Revision of the Prayer Book, and by several Affiliated Associations in the chief Provincial Towns.

The subjoined Report of the Council of the Association will shew the objects which they wish to carry out.

Objects sought by the Association for Promoting a Revision of the Prayer Book. Office, 17 *Buckingham Street, Adelphi.*

I.—"With respect to the Act of Uniformity, such an alteration of the terms of Subscription as will no longer compel Clergymen and Graduates to declare their approbation of every line and letter in the Prayer Book.

II.—With respect to the Daily and Occasional Services,—

1. The substitution in the *Service for Ordering Priests* of a precatory form for the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," &c., and the removal of the clause,

"Whose sins thou dost forgive," &c. These words formed no part of the Ordinals of the Western Church for at least the first thousand years of the Christian era, and at this moment are not found in the Rituals of the Greek and Eastern Churches.

2. Such a modification of the *Baptismal Services* as will relieve the minister from the necessity of asserting that the baptized person is thereby regenerate, with suitable verbal alterations in the *Catechism* and *Order of Confirmation.* Also the use of vicarious stipulations on behalf of children to be baptized, to be optional.

3. The form of absolution in the *Service for the Visitation of the Sick* to be like the one in the Morning and Evening Prayer, or the form of absolution in the Communion Service.

4. Amendments in the *Burial Service,* to render it more generally appropriate.

5. The optional use of the *Athanasian Creed,* with or without the damnatory clauses, also of the *Commination Service,* and the shortening the *Service for Matrimony.*

6. The separation of Services originally distinct, so as to detach the Litany and Communion Service from being of necessity part and parcel of the Morning Prayer on Sundays and other Holy-days; as well as permission to the Minister to make use of certain portions of the Prayer Book for Afternoon or Evening Service on Sundays, when both are held in the same church; and for any extra week-day Service.

7. The Minister to have the power he formerly possessed of occasionally substituting for the appointed Lessons some others, which he may consider more appropriate.

The above Propositions tend entirely towards relief and comprehension."

Definite Plans of Revision recently published.

To complete my sketch of the proposals for Revision, it seems requisite to notice two recent publications on the subject. I will advert first to 'the Prayer Book Remodelled,' (Published by Messrs. Longman and Co., in 1860.)

It proposes alterations in the Exhortation, Confession and Absolution, so as to render these portions of the Service of a less *servile* character, and to express them more in accordance with that spirit of adoption and freedom which is the peculiar characteristic of Christianity. In the opening petitions of the Litany it omits the words 'miserable sinners,' and the author assigns good grounds for the omission. "That we are sinful beings, and that in addressing a heart-searching Holy God, we should use language suitable to sinful beings, is so plain an inference from the whole tenor of Scripture, that we can hardly imagine any one who professes to believe the Bible, disputing it. But, although we are sinners, still as believers in Christ, we are *pardoned sinners*, 'Being justified by faith, we have peace with God;' and being at peace with Him, we ought to be joyful and happy. We have access by

faith unto the throne of grace, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And can we then rightly style ourselves *miserable sinners*. The term savours too much of bondage and fear, (Rom. viii., 15.)"

Improvements could certainly be effected by adopting expressions that would be more truthful, as uttered by various descriptions of worshippers: suitable at once to advanced christians, and to those who are in the first stages of christian experience. There is at present an untruthfulness in the latter uttering the language of joyous assurance, as there is on the other hand in the faithful servants of God, using expressions of 'miserable dejection.'

The author of the Prayer Book Remodelled, suggests that a simple Thanksgiving Collect used *in* the public service for women after child birth, would be preferable to the service at present used for them apart from the public congregation.

He also proposes that the Articles be reduced from XXXIX to XX, contending that several of them are needlessly dogmatic upon points which may safely and more properly be left to each man's private judgment.

Ingoldsby gives in the second Vol. of his Letters, p. 180, a detailed review of this publication. He does not concur in all the recommendations for change, but he speaks very favourable of it as a whole.

He says, "The more it is studied, the more generally will it be approved, and a careful perusal of its contents can hardly fail to convince every reasonable mind, how

far from perfect is the book of Common Prayer as we now have it." Ingoldsby adds that the eyes of the public should be opened "to the *moral guilt they are incurring*, in allowing the present imperfect Book of Common Prayer to be circulated yearly by millions of copies, in all languages, when it is capable of so much improvement, and contains so much that is reasonably excepted against. * * * We seek for legal sanction to such alterations as shall make it (as far as lies within the skill and judgment of man,) a perfect manual of devotion for a truly National Church."

In 1863 appeared the other publication which specially deserves our notice, viz., "The Prayer Book as it might be." This work of the Rev. R. Bingham supplies a reprint of our Liturgy revised with many great improvements, and would deserve the consideration of any committee appointed to furnish a matured plan for Revision.

The Tables for the reading of the Psalms and the Lessons are carefully re-arranged.

As to the Psalms I should like to see a further improvement, by giving the Clergyman, who officiates, an option of omitting altogether such imprecatory psalms as the lxix and cix—which deeply pain many Clergymen to read, and many of the laity that have to listen to them.

As to the Lessons it is my opinion that, while certain leading chapters should be read every year, the others might be distributed over a cycle of three years for Sunday Lessons. There are several chapters of very edifying matter, that now are never read to full congre-

gations. They are only appointed for week days, when very few persons attend: and there are several chapters, or portions of chapters, now read, which would be better omitted from public perusal.

His Collection of the Collects into a group is useful. A very great improvement and addition to our Services might be made, by utilizing sundry of the Collects as I shall demonstrate in *my* draft of re-arranged Services.

Mr. Bingham's proposal to have the Commandments read from the Desk instead of from the Communion Table is an improvement, as they certainly ought to be addressed to the general Congregation, while the Beatitudes may be more suitably read in connection with the Communion Service.

Though we may wish the phraseology of a few passages had been left undisturbed, Mr. Bingham has introduced several very good corrections in others. The public are certainly indebted to him for a very carefully prepared exemplar of improved Services. His provision for the third Service of an Afternoon or Evening would be specially welcome where three Services are performed each Sunday; or that New Service might be alternated with the present Afternoon Service where there are only two Services. Mr. Bingham submits his work as a specimen or exemplar; and I believe would welcome any further improvement that may be added to his suggestions.

The Rev. C. Girdlestone, Decr., 1863,

Has just published an appeal to Evangelical Churchmen, (Hunt and Co. Holles Street, Cavendish Square.)

This is a Pamphlet of strong remonstrance against the attitude, whether of hostility, or of mere neutrality, which Evangelical Churchmen have hitherto maintained in reference to Liturgical revision; and their moral dishonesty in allowing themselves to be considered supporters of views (about baptismal regeneration, and thanksgiving at the burial of all persons, &c.) which they really condemn, thus building up corruption and a tendency to Roman or High Church errors. I trust the appeal will stir up the Evangelical *Laity* and *Clergy* to their evident duty. I will now quote a few points of Mr. Girdlestone's Pamphlet.

"The day is now all but come, when the convictions of the existing generation will no longer be hopelessly fettered by phrases stereotyped, (some in malice, some ignorance,) two hundred years ago and more."

"The following may be mentioned as convictions that are now so widely prevalent as to be entitled to recognition by the powers that be."

"That a rigid uniformity of words enforced, with an unlimited allowance for variety in the sense to be attached to them, is a device as unseemly, as it has proved to be unsuccessful for the securing of unity in religion.

"That in religious Services it is highly objectionable to prescribe, for use without exception in all cases, words which in many cases cannot properly apply.

"That it is no less objectionable in such Services to introduce dogmatic statements on abstruse mysteries, with sentences of perdition pronounced on all who withhold assent.

"And that it is not consistent with the respect due to God's Ministers, that every incumbent should have to declare and sign his solemn assent and consent to sundry compositions of man's framing; as to many points whereof wise and good men differ very widely, and are undoubtedly at liberty so to differ conscientiously."

"All we ask is, that now after the lapse of centuries the (Church's) formularies should be fairly submitted to this test (the word of God) with a view to modify thereby some of their expressions.

"In the name of those who have left us, in the name of those who remain, we implore it of our rulers as a favour, we demand it of our country as a right, that the ritual of our National Church, to whose communion we stedfastly adhere, be made to square throughout with the only inspired code of Faith and Duty, the Bible.

"This is the claim of those who want our Liturgy revised. This is the claim which you are hereby entreated to join in urging, and to prosecute with a vigorous and united effort, as Evangelical Christians."

I have thus, from the host of advocates of Revision and Relaxation of the terms of Subscription, culled out the most striking and important points of their testimony in favour of those objects. If any of my readers wish to refer to the pamphlets themselves, a list of the chief ones is published by the Association for the Revision of the Prayer Book: and a full record of what has been advanced on the subject during the last ten years, will be found in the 'Ingoldsby Letters;' the last and comprehensive edition of which may be had in two vols. handsomely bound for ten shillings, at the Office of the Association, 17 Buckingham Street, Adelphi.

CONVOCATION.

The chief efforts for amendment in the Church Services made in the Houses of Convocation of Canterbury during the last ten years.

I have thought it may be useful to give a very succinct account of what has been attempted to be done in the two Houses of Convocation during the interval 1854—64.

The Upper House consists of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and twenty Bishops of the Province of Canterbury. They are not of course all of them always present —on the contrary, some of the most important questions are decided by a small number. For instance, on Feb. 11th, 1859, there were only eleven present, and the ten Bishops being equally divided, the President (Archbishop Sumner) settled an important question about five new Services, by his casting vote *against* them.

The Lower House consists of 144 Clergy, but is a disproportionate representation of the clerical body, one hundred being Dignitaries of the Church or Delegates of the Cathedral Chapters: while only forty two are representatives of the many thousands of the Clergy scattered over the twenty one Dioceses of the Province. In accurate Classes, twenty two are Deans, fifty six Archdeacons, twenty three are Delegates of

the Cathedral Chapters, and forty two are Clerical Proctors (two being sent as delegates for the Clergy of each Diocese.) If the Laity could be associated in Convocation with the Clergy, it might tend to liberalize the proceedings. In America the Laity are so admitted, and in Australia efforts are making to introduce the lay element.

The Convocation of the Province of York is thus constituted :—In the Upper House the Archbishop and his six Suffragan Bishops; in the Lower House, about sixty Clergy, equally divided into Dignitaries and Parochial Clergy. It is not very efficient, being generally an echo of the Convocation of Canterbury.

The Convocation of Ireland is practically on a par with that of York.

Brief Report of the proceedings of the Upper House in reference to Revision.

In 1854, July 20th.—Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, presented a Report of a Committee advocating permission to divide the Morning Service on Sundays, when the Communion is to be administered; and recommending the adoption of seven new occasional Services. This excellent Report deserves consideration, but no practical enactment in consequence of it has yet taken place.

A Petition to the Queen was presented by Abp. Sumner, in 1855, on the part of both Houses of Con-

vocation, in which the modification of the Services of the Church formed a chief part.

A quasi-sanction was given to the Clergy in 1856, by the Abp. of Canterbury and Bp. of London for dividing the Morning Service, provided the two portions of it could be read in the course of the day, as well as the Evening Service, (a thing impracticable in most parishes:) and they were understood to allow the Communion to be administered in the latter part of the day.

In 1857.—An appeal by petition against the order of Burial of the Dead, being used over openly profane persons, presented by 3,500 Clergymen, was dismissed, as 'relief was impracticable.'

In 1858, Feb. 10th.—Several of the Bishops admitted that they desired alterations and abridgment of the Services on the week days—but in a body they declared the Sunday Services should not be altered, or the integrity of the Prayer Book in any way impaired.

1859, Feb. 11th.—A draft of seven new Services was brought forward, but the proposition was received with five votes for, and five against the motion: and the President (Abp. Sumner) gave the casting vote against them. Thus the House stultified their own proceedings of 1854.

1860, Feb.—Petitions against revision of Liturgy presented by the Bishop of Oxford, and supported by

Abp. of Canterbury, and the Bps. of St. Davids, Chichester, and Llandaff.

March.—A draft of five new Services, drawn up by a joint Committee of both Houses, was submitted to the Upper House for consideration.

1863, May 22nd.—The Bps. of Lincoln and St. David's, in order to promote Union among Christians, proposed that Ascension Day should be more sedulously observed, as in the Service of that day there is an admirable prayer for *Unity*. The former Bishop thought the said Collect could be introduced better at Harvest festivals!! Surely these Prelates could think of a more efficient way of promoting unity among Christians.

Motions in Lower House of Convocation.

1858.—A Committee of the Lower House presented this report:—

1. That some modification of the Church Rules is needful to enable her to minister to the spiritual necessities of the people.

2. That the Morning Service when the Communion is administered, requires to be divided into two Services.

3. That where both Afternoon and Evening Services are performed, an occasional Service should be provided for one of them with new proper Lessons.

4. That as to the Services, there ought to be some relaxation of the Act of Uniformity.

5. A shorter Service should be compiled from the Prayer Book for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer.

In 1861.—Motion made to invite the Upper House to concur in Petitioning the Queen to appoint a Committee, to consider whether the Book of Common Prayer can be better adapted to the exigences of the Church.

1. By modification of the Rubric and discontinuing several repetitions.

2. By enlarging and altering the Table of Lessons, with double Lessons, where both Afternoon and Evening Service are performed.

3. By re-arrangement of the Psalter.

4. By the use of but one Creed at each Service. The use of the Athanasian to be optional.

5. By allowing the Minister to transfer the Litany, or the Ante-Communion Service to the Afternoon or Evening.

6. By the addition of New Occasional Services for humiliation, for Thanksgiving, for Missions, for Prisoners, similarly to the *proposition of the Bishop of London, in* 1854. The Committee to be confined to the above points, and on no account to interfere with the doctrine of the Church, as contained in the Articles, Canons and Liturgy.

1863.—Motion by Dr. McCaul, supported by Archdeacon Denison, against relaxing in any degree, or altering at all, the terms of Subscription!!

A glance over these four pages will convince the reader, that, though neither House denies the desirableness of alterations, both are reluctant to move out of the order of things to which they have been habituated: and that they were as much advanced in 1854 as they are in 1864. With such little progress in ten years towards revision of the Services and Relaxation of the Act of Uniformity, he will not conclude that much will be effected readily in Convocation towards carrying out the Revision and Re-arrangement of the Services, which are so much needed.

CHAPTER X.

Suggestions for both Doctrinal and Structural Revision. Incorrect views of Divine Worship. Right principles. Subscription to be modified. Reform to be Conservative.

We have now traced the several stages in the formation of the Liturgical Services from the primitive age to the time of their assuming their present form in our Prayer Book in Elizabeth's reign.

We have seen that many of our present Collects and prayers originated at sundry remote dates, in the Primitive Eastern Churches, the Gallican Church, the early Roman; and from one or other of them were adopted in the Latin Liturgy of the Anglican unreformed Church from 600 to 1534 A.D. From this latter (the Latin Liturgy of the Anglican unreformed Church) most of the formularies which we use at present, were translated in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. to make the English Book of Common Prayer.

We have reviewed also the principal additions and alterations introduced into the Book of Common Prayer from the time of the Reformation downwards; and have noted the various demands for further improvements, that were urged in vain at the Hampton Court and the Savoy Conferences; as well as in the attempted revision 1689: many of which demands still remain to be carried out.

It is evident then that our Liturgy has no prestige from antiquity, or from uniform use, so as to be regarded as unalterable or unimprovable. Few intelligent Christians will be bold or rash enough to assert, that it does not require revision and alteration. If any one thinks so, let him weigh the judgments which many of the most learned and experienced Churchmen have expressed during the last 200 years, and the intensified appeals for revision continuously made during the last 30 years, which have been succinctly chronicled in the preceding chapter.

Attention to the statements of so many learned and experienced men must surely convince every reasonable and unprejudiced person that revision is absolutely necessary, if we desire our public worship to be cleared of imperfections, and acknowledge the propriety of removing the stumbling blocks that have long caused distress to conscientious churchmen, and have driven many of them from the Established Church into the ranks of Dissent.

It remains therefore to take into consideration what may he proposed as the best course for carrying out the requisite improvements.

There are two methods open for such a purpose: earnest and impetuous Reformers plead for a prompt, searching and thorough expufgation of whatever falls below their beau ideal of a perfect Liturgy; but there would be more prospect of success in a more temperate

alterative process, even if it be less immediate in producing relief.

I do not assume to submit a perfected model of a revised Liturgy, or to specify precisely what alterations and what extent of them would constitute a full and thorough removal of objections. The principal ones have been descanted on, in many excellent pamphlets, during the last few years. See p. 200.

I will restrict myself here to stating *two main principles*, which ought to be well observed in making amendments. The exact modification of the proposals for amendment may well be left to a Committee, nominated by the Queen in Council, and the ratification of their report checked by the United Legislature.

There would not be the slightest difficulty in the Government nominating a Committee of twelve suitable persons, competent to draw up a Report of the alterations needed. Four Bishops, four Laymen of the Privy Council, with four divines of note could easily be selected for such a work—which would have reference to two objects, the revision of doctrinal passages, and the re-arrangement of the services, including verbal amendments.

As to Doctrinal points, the deepest objections here are confined to a very few passages in our Prayer Book and Articles, of which the assertion is not essential to sound faith or worship; while the language used in them is painful to the convictions of many sincere

churchmen, and at the same time forms a positive obstacle to union between ourselves and the Non-Conformist Churches.

I. Let such objectionable passages be cleared * of all expressions and statements that are not supported by exact words of Scripture itself, or have not undeniable authority from Scripture precedent.

II. Wherever a general assertion of Scripture is used in reference to any individual without there being clear grounds and warrant for *applying* such statement to the *individual* in question; such application should be discontinued.

If these two simple principles of correction were carried out, it would cause the removal of the thanksgiving for the regeneration of every infant that is baptized; and that for every person that is departed, as one taken to God.

It would forbid the giving positive absolution in the Visitation for the Sick; or any absolution except in the general statement of God's perfect forgiveness to penitent believers. It would lead to a correction of the words used in the Ordination of Priests, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost, whose sins," &c., and it would cause the omission of the Damnatory clauses in the Athanasian Creed, and in the Commination Service.

In connection with the above alteration in the Baptismal Service, alterations consistent in character would

* According to the suggestions of the Edinburgh Review see pages 146—148, and the Quotation from Rev. C. Girdlestone page 188.

have to be made in the vows made by the Sponsors, also in the Catechism, and in the Service for Confirmation; and certain dogmatical assertions in the Articles, might be removed, inasmuch as admission, or the non-admission of them, is not essential to constitute a Christian.

If the entire removal of the aforesaid doctrinal passages, and of special application of what is based on some general truth be not approved, a remedy for most of the formularies of our occasional Services may be attained by expressing them in the form of *prayer* substituted for that of positive *declaration*, or as has been suggested by other writers, double forms might in some cases be provided, the selection of either being, left to the Officiating Clergyman.

As to *Structural Revision*, with verbal amendments, it would be desirable that the structure of the Prayer Book should be preserved in its present shape, as far as is possible, consistently with effecting the alterations requisite. The Public are so habituated to it that it would do much harm to obliterate its cherished features. All the revision that I would advocate would only render it more serviceable and more dear to real Christians. There could not however be any objection to a re-distribution of the component portions of it in fresh combinations, the discontinuance of frequent repetitions of some of its formularies, and the better utilizing others of them, that now are seldom read. While most of our present formularies would be retained, they would be

spread through several Services, a portion of them being used in one Service, and another portion in another Service. We might then have the Litany one Sunday Morning, and it might be used the next Sunday in the Evening. The Commandments might be read from the Desk, one Sunday. The Beatitudes, as recommended in 1689, (see p. 161) might be used in place of the Commandments on other Sundays, when the Communion is administered; and this principle of alternation* would be well employed in arranging also the third Service of any Sunday, and the week-day Morning or Evening Service.

I cannot conceive anything having a more deadening effect than the constant repetition of the Daily Services in exactly the same routine. In Cathedrals and College Chapels it is enough to dissociate religious feeling altogether from the re-iterated formularies.

The Te Deum and the Litany have each the substantial parts of a Creed in them; therefore, no other Creed need be read when either of them forms part of the Service. On other occasions, the Nicene Creed might be read when the Communion is administered; and the Apostle's Creed in the Afternoon or Evening Service.

Our occasional Services for Baptism, Burial, and Marriage, might advantageously be shortened and im-

* A Schedule or draft of such alterations and re-distribution of the formularies will be submitted, as a sketch for further consideration in the following chapter.

proved. At the same time several Services might be drawn up for special occasions, according to the drafts suggested in Convocation, by the Bishop of London, in 1854, and the Bishop of Oxford, in 1859, and good Prayers selected from eminent divines; such as a Form of Prayer to read with the bereaved relatives of a deceased person, one to be used in preparation for the Sacrament, with forms for Daily Family Prayer.

I will sketch presently a plan for the desirable re-arrangement of our public services; but it would be tedious to the reader to dwell long upon suggestions which may never be carried out. If our Rulers in Church and State are timely wise, the proper machinery can soon be organized to re-arrange the Services with careful retention of all that is good, and careful exclusion of whatever is objectionable.

If, however, the majority of Churchmen cannot be persuaded to give up the old routine of service to which they have been accustomed, and the ill-grounded prepossessions of a former age, I would suggest that at any rate, for the relief of those who do not think with them, there should be a relaxation of the terms of Clerical Subscription to the Articles, Canons, and Liturgy.

The Articles are susceptible of considerable improvement. They would admit of much being pruned away, that is needlessly dogmatic and intrusive upon liberty of judgment. They doubtless served a good purpose when first issued, and might be retained as valuable

documents of the Church, with only a deferential Subscription demanded to them. They are inapplicable, harassing to the conviction of many, and a cause of painful estrangement between believers.

The Canons are notoriously inappropriate to modern times, and to retain them in their present form is positively absurd. See the Rev. D. Mountfield's Pamphlet on a Revision of the Canons and Liturgy, (34 Paternoster Row.)

At present the Clergy are compelled, as a preliminary to the exercise of the Ministry, to declare their assent and consent to all things contained and prescribed in the Prayer Book, including all the statements of the XXXIX Articles—the forms of Ordination, and those used in all the Services of the Church: and by inference to aver their conviction of the authenticity and inspiration of all the Books of the Old and New Testaments, and of their contents without exception; and further, that the two Books of Homilies "contain good and wholesome doctrine," which books few have read, and some have never seen; and which would not be listened to by any modern congregation, if read as prescribed in the XXXV Article.

This requirement of the judgment being subjugated to authority, is practically unrighteous and unjust. It might meet with approval when spiritual tyranny was rife, or when men just freed from it themselves, retained much of its spirit toward others. It was not out of keeping with the conviction that then prevailed, that it

was right to burn at the stake or persecute to death all who differed from their rulers; but it is not suited to the present time, when we profess to admit, that after agreement in the essentials of the Christian faith and Christian practice is secured, it is the privilege of every believer to maintain the liberty of his private judgment in matters not explicitly laid down on the authority of Holy Scripture, or that are laid down on other authority than that of Scripture itself.

It surely would be sufficient for all practical security, and for the repression of heretical teaching, to require a statement of Ministers, that they will conform to the Liturgy and doctrines of the Church, as established by law.

If this step were taken of relaxing the stringency of Subscription, and accompanied by the removal of portions in our formularies that are condemned by the most intelligent and devout Churchmen, there would soon follow a general conviction among the public in favour of amending many other portions, to which they adhere merely by the force of association—for when the gag of Uniformity shall be withdrawn—free discourse and mutual interchange of sentiment will rapidly promote more general enlightenment, and then there will no longer be opposition to any amendment, which reason sanctions, and spiritual truthfulness requires.

In support of this view I may refer to the statements of Archdeacon Paley (see page 177,) also to the Article in the Edinburgh Review of 1862, on Clerical

Subscription, (see appendix,) and to Lord Ebury's advocacy of relaxing the Act of Uniformity in Speeches before the House of Lords.

In casting our eyes over the past centuries, we find that much complicated error has already been gradually disentangled from the truth it was united to, and has been reprobated and abjured, but that there is still a considerable residuum of it, which dulls our mental perceptions, and cripples our spiritual life.

I submit that it is no security for correctness of a tenet, or for the soundness of a formulary, to substantiate that it has been used in any age subsequent to the Apostolic, or for any duration of time.

Each doctrine, each practice, each form of service, may well be examined by the clear light of the Gospel. Let whatever is pure and unreprovable be preserved and practised, be honoured and affectionatdy cherished. Whatever is questionable must be tested. Let whatever comes out of examination weak, mained, or defective be tenderly corrected and judiciouslyimproved. Whatever is proved to be wrong or noxious must be denounced and put aside.

It is no wisdom or propriety to be for ever aiming to walk in the doublets and hose of antiquity. Their apparel was questionable in taste, and would be very awkward and inappropriate for modern usage.

We have relinquished altogether the idea that our liturgical devotions have with Procrustean rigour to be

made conformable to any supposed primary Liturgy of the Fathers, Eastern, or Roman.

We are at the same time disposed to reject the conceit that finality has already been reached, or is ever attainable; and we deny that identity of judgment can ever be existing where hundreds of distinct theological propositions are subjected to vast bodies of men, though there might be deference of judgment to a well weighed and scriptural summary of such propositions.

Let us trim our lamp faithfully to the best of our ability for the time being, but we need lay down no restrictions to cramp and fetter any future development, which more accurate knowledge may promote by further investigation of all the bearings of the truth. Let us not wish even to compress truth within the limits, which we have deemed it appropriate to fix for ourselves, or judge of its vast proportions and extensive ramifications by our own little two-foot rule, or imagine we can put the ocean into our little bucket.

Let us recognize in this, as well as in other branches of science, and in other departments of mental energy, the general law of gradual progress and development.

Earlier Centuries witnessed nothing so complete as the Judicial code of the present day. It is the growth of long civilization. Our Military and Naval science is not based upon the same principles, as those which directed the undoubted valour and energy of the earlier tribes of our countrymen; nor is it limited to their

modes of combat or their weapons, but is a theory founded upon the aggregate experience of many generations, and specially upon recent improvements. The modern systems of education are the result of continuous advancements; not a servile imitation of any previous age, but ever open to fresh improvements. So there is every reason to expect from analogy that the right and solid principles of gospel truth will be better recognized, and the formularies of devotion, which have already been cleared of many accruing errors and perversions of the middle ages, will admit of being gradually still more purified, and more thoroughly adapted to promote the improvement of our public religious worship.

A few words may be serviceable in correcting the general sentiment as to what our Public Religious Worship really should be. Plausible but incorrect statements are now propounded respecting the principles of Christian Worship. Enthusiasts under erroneous prepossessions, and holding unscriptural tenets, are often sufficiently skilful and assuming, to lead astray persons of weak and impressible minds.

Without entering into a controversial examination of their unsound theories, I shall conclude by briefly and plainly submitting to my reader what I believe to be the true principles of Divine Service. I shall do this by first shewing what views are to be rejected as distorted and unsound; secondly, I will succinctly propound the true principles, that ought to actuate and inspirit the whole tenour of our worship.

Distorted and unsound Views repudiated.

I. What errors are to be discarded as unseemly respecting worship, at this stage of the Christian dispensation?

It cannot be right to forego its special and characteristic privileges, and to take the inferior standing of the Jewish worshippers, or the less developed principles of the Mosaic dispensation: to look upon ourselves as still depending upon our offering sacrifice to propitiate God's favor (as the Sacramentalists do,) to be occupied and absorbed with ceremonials, and the routine of outward observances—dwelling on the outward type and figure, when the actual verity has been transacted, or assuming the exclusive prejudices of the Jew against all persons and Church parties that differ from ourselves.

II. It cannot be right to revert to the twilight of the Christian dispensation, and clothe ourselves with the semi-enlightened garb of the Eastern Primitive Church; with a child-like pattering round a little circle of Jewish observances, repeating formularies and judaic sentiments with nauseating repetitions; nor will it suffice to take up even with perfect accuracy the fine-spun threads and filaments of the patristic system and theology. To put the matter figuratively,—because they had nocturns and twilight assemblages, we ought not to imitate similar obscurity in our Church regulations and our spiritual sentiments.

III. Neither can it be right to wall up again our

mind and feelings in the narrow and murky chambers, in which the Papal System for centuries has retained its wretched and slavish dependents. All tendency to resuscitate the arrogant dictation of priestly intruders between God and man, should be firmly withstood. Nor should one rite or feature of public worship be disproportionately magnified to the disparagement of other important portions; thus creating deformity and disease in the system. Nor should exotic singularities, either the growth of Roman or of Genevan climates, be fostered in preference to native fruits grown in our own spiritual garden.

In a word the Christian ought not tamely or blindly to lend himself to reproduce the imperfect systems that are gone by; much less ought he to help to re-establish in public worship fallacies that have long ago been exploded, and which should now be sleeping an irreversible sleep, deeper than that of the Montagues and the Capulets of the dark ages.

The more correct View.

But my reader will not be satisfied with my negativing and repudiating errors. It therefore remains for me to propound a clear statement of the right principles of divine worship in the present advanced development of Christianity.

The believer is now authorized to realize in himself, and to proclaim before others, that he is no longer a weak dependent infant, under tutors and guardians, but a son

whose years of maturity should place him in full assertion of the privileges of his spiritual birthright; not cowering in childish fear, not in *constant* depression under the rankling throes of penitential agony, in half enlightened gloom; having an imperfect estimate of the full redemption that has been accomplished, which mitigates, if it does not abolish "the burden that is intolerable." He need not be crying piteously 'mea culpa' and craving mercy, when it has been already frankly offered. He must not be weak enough to be fooled by the pretence of a magic baptism, that boasts of turning all into children of God, or a mystic eucharist belying our senses, belying Christ's own simple institution: nor need he surrender himself like an infant in swathing bands to be carried hither and thither at the beck, or in the arms, of sacerdotal nurses.

He ought not to shrink from fairly considering the advancing enlightenment of the present age, which has profited by the experience of the past, and by its own advances in science, in knowledge of antiquity, and in sacred criticism. Nor ought he with bleared eye to ignore and refuse to see any truth, because prejudice weakly condemns without understanding it.

The believer should have no misgiving that the written word, when correctly apprehended, can ever be really at variance with God's works in creation: nor should he doubt that Divine Providence can by natural laws now effect the same amount of blessing, that at a special juncture God did effect in the apostolic

age by miraculous interference and suspension of those laws. He should therefore implicitly trust that God's works in creation, and the revelation he has given to us, (if rightly interpreted) will minister to each others mutual confirmation, and preserve the same relation to each other, that must ever characterize the workings of the same Great Being.

To conclude—the believer should have a right estimate not only of his enfranchised standing as the free-man of Christ, but of His adoption as a Son destined to be conformed to the image of His Saviour; and therefore using Ordinances and Forms of Worship conducive to that purpose:—conducive also to knit together in one the whole brotherhood of believers. 'He will, therefore, sedulously remove every barrier that narrows Christian unity, and will cultivate in the arrangements for public worship, every formulary that will bind together in Christian fellowship the great community of all believers. Thus the principles of matured Christianity will be developed into fuller bloom, and fructify with higher privileges and blessings, for the encouragement of spiritual religion, and the advance of practical godliness.

May the preceding pages serve under the Divine blessing toward removing the obstacles that now hinder such a happy result. Surely it is right to cleanse and prune the vine—that so, the fruit may be improved. May He, whose office it is to be the Dresser of the Spiritual vineyard, who cleanses and prunes the

branches of his Church, enable and guide the chief ministers of that Church to clear away imperfections and redundancies, and to remove effete and decayed branches, and whatever now hinders rather than promotes vigour and productiveness. Far be it from our thoughts or purpose to impair, much less to destroy one single prescript or formulary which is conducive to edification, for we would devotedly uphold our Church, and our Prayer Book too; and while advocating its being pruned, plead for it with this solemn sentiment and conviction, 'The new wine is in the cluster; destroy it not, for a blessing is in it.'

SKETCH OF THE SUNDAY SERVICES,

AS THEY MIGHT BE

RE-ARRANGED AND REVISED.

I trust that the principles, laid down in the previous pages, will commend themselves to the judgment of the public. I think we may fairly assume that we have no desire to remain in the infantile simplicity and dependence of the Early Church, nor to relapse into any of the superstitious observances of the Middle Ages. We are glad moreover to have been delivered from the dead formalism which ensued upon the Act of Uniformity, (passed in 1662) and which prevailed to the commencement of the present Century.

In considering the present state of our Liturgy, we as it were, stand upon a tesselated pavement, having in it many precious remnants of antiquity, but they are ill-arranged, and mixed up incongruously and unattractively. Or, to take another figure, the light, that is thrown over our Services, comes through panes, some of them richly stained, others ill-assorted or misshapen, and ranged unartistically in the framework which supports them.

A restoration and correction of the present arrangement appears therefore to be exceedingly desirable.

If we leave things as they are, the intelligent and enlightened among us will continue to have their taste revolted, and their spiritual convictions hurt. Seeing no prospect of Reform in the Church, they may eventually shun its assemblies as irksome, and may either turn aside to sectarian systems, less shackled by formal routine; or may wander into sceptical indifferentism. To our sorrow we know, that many intelligent persons do thus sit lightly to the system of public worship, as now organized amongst us.

I now advance to a task of some difficulty—the submitting to the reader a Draft or Sketch of our Services, revised and re-arranged, so as to embrace more varied topics, yet retain a good deal of their old organization: for conducting which Services our present Prayer Books can remain in use, with no other addition than a few supplementary pages, explanatory of the order of the re-arranged Services.*

I am persuaded that it would be unwise to disturb or relinquish any good formulary to which the public mind is habituated. Therefore no approvable passage of our existing Services will be set aside; though the present arrangement of them is re-cast, in order to introduce more variety between the Services of the several Sundays of the month. At the same time a more comprehensive range of subjects will be opened, by utilizing a few formularies, which at present are very rarely read.

* Future Editions of the Prayer Book would easily be altered so as to contain the alterations here suggested, for more varied, and at the same time more comprehensive Services.

Let the reader understand then that my object is to furnish, mainly by the re-arrangement of existing formularies, a course of varied services for Morning and Evening Prayer, for the four Sundays of each month, with two additional Services, to be used when there is a fifth Sunday in the month, or when the Communion is administered, or upon any special occasion.

I would suggest that in introducing this new arrangement of the Services it may well be left to the option of present Incumbents, either to retain the present use and order, or to adopt the proposed change, as they may deem most suitable and edifying. There is little doubt that the new system would carry public approbation with it, and that all but the unwisely prejudiced would give it their adherence.

The system of varied alternation is strongly recommended by the author of the Ingoldsby Letters, as "affording that variety, which is the law of all nature around us, and gives an ever-new character to the daily scenes and occupations of life." Vol. 1, p. 338.

Rubrical Directions.

1.—The customary observances and order will be continued except in a few particulars.

2.—The Clergyman can open any Service by reading some of the additional Sentences chiefly selected from the New Testament. (See page 231.)

3.—He will afterwards proceed with either the present routine, or one of the New Introductory Portions, distinguished by the Letters A. or B. for clearness of reference.

4.—The "*O come let us sing,*" may be varied by the Easter Anthem, or by the Abstract of fifth Psalm, p. 234; or the first seven verses of Psalm xcv., may be sung or read without the concluding portion.

5.—Psalms may always be selected (from the Table of Psalms, see page 236) if preferred to those appointed according to the day of the month.

6.—The Canticles may be varied by the abridged hymn. "O all ye works of the Lord &c.," p. 236.

7.—Eight classes of Collects are submitted to the choice of the Clergyman for use, in variation of, or in addition to the Collects now employed in our Morning and Evening Services. The parts of the Service are named, in which they would be specially appropriate, but some of them would do equally well at other parts of the Service.

8.—The Clergyman will be permitted to use the amended expressions according to the Table of verbal alterations. (page 255—56.)

9.—The Service for the fifth Sunday Morning can be used whenever the Communion is administered; and the Service of the Sunday, on which the Communion occurs, may be used on the *fifth Sunday* if such occur in the month.

10.—The Service for the fifth Sunday Afternoon may well be appropriated for Public Baptism, Churching, or for Parochial and Special occasions.

11.—In the Communion the Clergyman can distribute at once the elements to all, who present themselves together at the rail.

For the First and Third Sundays of the Month.
Order of Morning Service.

The usual routine of the Service to the conclusion of the Apostle's Creed.

Metrical Hymn or Psalm. The three Collects as usual.

The Litany to the last repetition of the words "We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord."

The two Collects toward the end of the Litany, viz., "O God, merciful Father," &c., and "We humbly beseech thee O Father," &c.

The new Concluding portion (see page 249—50.)

Order of Afternoon or Evening Service.

New Scripture Sentences, or a Hymn.

Introductory portion A (see page 232.)

The Lord's Prayer and Versicles.

The Psalms of the day of the month, or selected.

One or more Collects (from the Intermediate portion, page 241—42.)

Lesson from the Old Testament.

The Magnificat, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

On the first Sunday.—Collect for purity and ante-communion Service to the end of the Nicene Creed, (read from the Desk.)

On the third Sunday.—The Beatitudes and Responses.

Metrical Hymn or Psalm.

Then begin with three Collects of the Evening Service and continue to the end of the Evening Prayers.

For the Second and Fourth Sundays of the Month.

Morning Service.

New Sentences.
Introductory Portion B. (page 233.)
The Psalms as usual, or selected new ones.
Lesson from the Old Testament.
Abbreviated Benedicite, or the 148th Psalm.
Lesson from the New Testament.
The Jubilate or 100th Psalm, read, or sung.
The Ante-communion Service, with the Psalm to follow the Commandments. (See page 237.)
The Nicene Creed.
Church Militant Prayer and General Thanksgiving.
Two of the Post-communion Collects. The Benediction.

Afternoon or Evening Service.

Hymn sung, or abstract of 5th Psalm read (page 234.)
The Introductory Portion A. (page 232.)
The Lord's Prayer, Versicles, Psalms.
Lesson from the Old Testament. The Te Deum.
Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.
The 98th Psalm, or a hymn sung.
Lord's Prayer. Versicles, "O Lord shew thy mercy."
Two Evening Collects.
The first Two Collects for Good Friday.
Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men.
New Conclusion (page 249—50.)

To be used when a Fifth Sunday occurs in the Month, or whenever the Communion is administered.

Morning Service.

The usual Introductory Portion.

The Easter Anthem instead of "O come let us sing."

The three Collects for Good Friday.

Psalms of the day, or Selected ones.

Lesson from the Old Testament, and Te Deum.

Lesson from the New Testament, and 100th Psalm, (sung or read.)

Part of the Ante-communion Service, with the option of reading the Beatitudes and responses instead of the Commandments.

The Nicene Creed, the Prayer for the Church Militant.

The third Invitation to the Sacrament.

The Offertory—The Benediction—The Sermon.

The Communion beginning "Ye that do truly."

Afternoon or Evening Service.

New Sentences.

Introductory Portion B (page 233.) Selected Psalms.

The Commandments or the Beatitudes (whichever has not been read in the Morning.)

The Churching of women, Baptismal Service, or any special Service, with Thanksgiving and Benediction.

But if no such Service requires to be attended to

Collect, Epistle, and Gospel (with exposition or not.)

Either the Magnificat, or the Song of Simeon.

The portion of the Litany, beginning with the Lord's Prayer, and the usual routine to the Benediction.

Two or more to be read at Commencement of the Service.

The hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship Him.

God is a spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth, (John iv., 23, 24.)

God so loved the world that he gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. (John iii., 16, 17.)

Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light, (Matt. xiv., 28.)

There is joy in the presence of the Angels of God over one sinner that repenteth, (Luke xv., 7.)

Thou O Lord God art full of compassion and mercy, long-suffering, plenteous in goodness and truth, (Ps. lxxxviii. 24.)

Seek ye the Lord, while he may be found, call upon Him while he is near.

Let the wicked man forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon, (Isaiah lv., 6, 7.)

Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, (Acts xvi., 31.)

This is a true saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, (1 Tim. i. 15.)

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and He is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world, (1 John, ii, 1, 2.)

Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice, (Phil. iv., 4.)

There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, (Romans viii., 1.)

Introductory Portion A.

After a Metrical Hymn or some of the Sentences, the Minister shall say:

DEAR brethren, it becomes us through trusting in God's merciful loving kindness, at all times to walk humbly before Him, and with lowliness of mind to acknowledge our unworthiness and confess our sins; but more especially ought we so to do, when we assemble together to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at his hands, to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear His most holy word, and to ask those things which are needful both for the body and the soul. I beseech you, therefore, to accompany me with a sincere heart, and humble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly grace, while we make together our humble confession to Almighty God.

General Confession:

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father, we confess that we often wander from Thy ways. We follow too much the leadings of our own wills, and the desires of our own hearts. We have too often broken Thy laws, neglected our duties, and been forgetful of Thy commandments. We have sinned against Thee, and grieved Thy Holy Spirit. Mercifully regard our infirmities. Pity our short-comings, and pardon our transgressions, according to Thy promises, declared to the penitent, by Jesus Christ our Lord. And grant us grace that we may henceforth live righteously in all faithful obedience to the glory of Thy Holy Name. Amen.

Collect instead of Absolution:

O LORD, we beseech Thee, mercifully to hear our prayers, and spare all those who confess their sins unto Thee; that they whose consciences by sin are accused, by Thy merciful pardon may be absolved; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the Lord's Prayer, Versicles, and 'O all ye works,' Psalms.

Introductory Portion B.

Some of the New Sentences. Address.

DEAR BRETHREN, we are taught by Holy Scripture to make confession of our sins to Almighty God, and are exhorted neither to dissemble nor deny them, but to acknowledge and bewail them with a lowly, penitent, and obedient heart, in order to obtain forgiveness through his infinite goodness and mercy, for Jesus Christ's sake. Now, although we ought at all times thus humbly to confess our manifold transgressions, yet ought we most chiefly so to do, when we meet together to render thanks for the great benefits we have received at the hands of God, to set forth his most worthy praise, to hear his most Holy Word, and to ask those things which are necessary, as well for the body as for the soul. Wherefore, Brethren, I pray and beseech you, as many as are here present, to accompany me with a sincere heart, and humble voice, unto the throne of the Heavenly Grace, saying after me,

¶ *A general Confession to be made by all kneeling:*

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father, though we approach Thy throne in dependence on Thy mercy, we confess that we have strayed too often from Thy ways. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against Thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and have done those things which we ought not to have done. Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon our infirmities. Spare those, who confess their faults unto Thee. Restore those, who are truly penitent, and pardon their transgressions: according to Thy promises declared unto mankind in Jesus Christ our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for His sake, that we may hereafter live a godly and religious life, to the glory of Thy holy name. Amen.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who art always more ready to hear, than we to pray, and are wont to give more than either we desire, or deserve; pour down upon us the

abundance of Thy mercy; forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving us those good things which we are not worthy to ask, but through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord. Amen.

Minister. Our help is in the Name of the Lord;
Answer. Who hath made heaven and earth.
Minister. Blessed be the Name of the Lord;
Answer. Henceforth, world without end.
Minister. Lord hear our prayer;
Answer. And let our cry come unto Thee.

O LORD, who hast vouchsafed unto these Thy Servants the privilege of fellowship with Thy visible Church, and hast promised forgiveness of sins, through Jesus Christ, to all persons who repent and believe; we beseech Thee to grant forgiveness to all those who are truly penitent, and to strengthen them with Thy Holy Spirit, and daily increase in them Thy manifold gifts of grace; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and godly strength; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness; for the sake of Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Amen.

Our Father, which art in, &c.

Minister. Praise ye the Lord.
People. The Lord's name be praised.

The following abridgement of the fifth Psalm might be used in the Morning Service instead of the 95th Psalm.

1.—Give ear to my words O Lord: consider my meditation.

2.—O hearken Thou unto the voice of my calling, my King and my God: for unto Thee will I make my prayer.

3.—My voice shalt Thou hear betimes, O Lord: early will I direct my prayer unto Thee, and will look up.

4.—Thou art the God, who hast no pleasure in wickedness: neither shall any evil dwell with Thee.

5.—As for me I will come into Thy house upon the multitude of Thy mercy: and in Thy fear will I worship.

6.—Lead me, O Lord, in Thy righteousness: make Thy way plain before my face.

7.—Let all them that put their trust in Thee rejoice: they shall ever be giving of thanks, because Thou defendest them.

8.—They that love Thy name shall be joyful in Thee.

9.—For Thou, Lord, wilt give Thy blessing unto the righteous.

10.—And with Thy favourable kindness wilt Thou surround him, as with a shield.

Glory be to, &c.

From other Psalms (not included in the Table for reading throughout,) portions might also be selected to make short Psalms, or Anthems, to be read or sung at different parts of the Morning and Evening Service.

THE PSALMS.

Respecting the Psalms best suited to Christian Worship.

The following portions of the Psalter are those that are more closely appropriate for public worship in the Christian dispensation. They form *Thirty-one Selections.*

This series will be read through in rather more than a quarter of a year, and they are so arranged, that the

second repetition of the same series will place in the Afternoon Service those Psalms which had been read in the Morning Service during the first perusal.

Each portion will contain from about 30 *to* 45 *verses:*

1	1. 8. 15	1	86. 88	1	119 Ps. to 32 v.	1	148. 150
2	16. 19. 25	2	90. 91	2	„ 33 „ 72 v.		Then the same series to begin again in the *Afternoon* Service.
3	26. 27. 30	3	95. 96. 98	3	„ 73 „ 104 v.		
4	32. 33	4	100. 103	4	„ 105 „ 144 v.		
5	34. 37	5	104	5	„ 145 „ 176 v.		
6	39. 40	6	105	6	124. 125. 127		
7	46. 49	7	106	7	128. 130. 131. 133		
8	50. 61	8	107	8	134. 136. 138		
9	65. 67. 77	9	110. 111. 112	9	142. 145		
10	80. 84	10	113. 116. 117	10	146. 147		

Portions of those Psalms that are here passed over, may occasionally be read by the minister, or be sung in metrical verse; as for instance the 5th, 51st Psalm, 86th, 139th, &c.

As to the *Proper Psalms* appointed for *special days*, as Christmas Day, Easter Day, &c., (33 in number) some of these Psalms are *prophetic* Psalms, and, as such, might be read by the minister throughout, in the same way as the Lessons are read. Only about 13 of them are included in the above list.

The Canticle, 'O all ye works of the Lord,' could be read or sung after the first Lesson, instead of the Te Deum, if shortened to the following form.

O all ye Works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Angels of the Lord, bless the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise him, &c.

O ye Waters that are above the Firmament, bless ye the Lord : &c.

O all ye Powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise, &c.

O ye Sun and Moon, bless ye the Lord : praise, &c.

O ye Stars of Heaven, bless ye the Lord : praise, &c.

O let the Earth bless the Lord : yea let it praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Children of Men, bless ye the Lord : praise, &c.

O let Israel bless the Lord : praise, &c.

O ye Priests of the Lord bless ye the Lord : &c.

O ye Servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : &c.

O ye Believers, with your Spirits and Souls, bless ye the Lord : &c.

O ye holy and humble Men of heart, bless ye the Lord *: &c.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Psalm to follow the reading of the Commandments.

Then, the Minister and people, all standing up, shall say :

Min. The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy.

Con. He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor punished us according to our iniquities.

M. Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.

C. For he knoweth our frame ; he remembereth that we are dust.

M. As for man his days are as the grass ; as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth.

C. For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone ; and the place thereof shall know it no more.

* The Hymns and Prayers of the Reformers, and other uninspired Divines are admitted in our Public Worship, and so may the above Ancient Canticle continue to be used.

M. But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting, upon those that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children;

C. To such as keep his covenant, and think upon his commandments to do them.

M. O praise the Lord, ye servants of his that do his pleasure.

C. O speak good of the Lord all ye ministers of his, in all places of his dominion. Praise thou the Lord, O my soul.

Or the second Post-Communion Collect may be read.

The Beatitudes to be read alternately with the Commandments.

"Our Lord Christ spake these words, and said.

"Blessed are the poor in Spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Lord have mercy upon us, and endue us with a humble and contented Spirit.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

"Lord have mercy upon us, and give us that godly sorrow which worketh repentance, never to be repented of.

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the Earth.

"Lord have mercy us, and give us grace to shew all meekness and gentleness towards all men.

"Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

"Lord have mercy upon us, and fill us with fruits of righteousness which are by Christ Jesus, to thy praise and glory.

"Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

"Lord have mercy upon us, and make us merciful as thou our heavenly Father art merciful.

" Blessed are the pure in heart : for they shall see God.

" Lord have mercy upon us, and cleanse us from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and make us to perfect holiness in the fear of thee our God.

" Blessed are the peacemakers : for they shall be called the children of God.

" Lord have mercy upon us, and incline us to avoid evil and do good : to seek peace, and obtain it.

" Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake : for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

" Lord have mercy upon us, and if we are called to suffer for thy name, strengthen us, according to thy glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering, with joyfulness.

" Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord when he cometh shall find watching.

" Lord have mercy upon us, and give us grace to be sober and watch unto prayer.

" Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.

" Lord have mercy upon us, and give us grace to order our steps according to thy word, that no iniquity may have dominion over us."

The Collects.

Several of these excellent prayers, which are so clear and simple that they are welcome to the ear of youth, and so compact and full of meaning, that man's heart finds them inexhaustible, may be utilised by introducing them in varied rotation in our Services, in addition to their being used on the one Special Sunday, for which they are appointed.

These selected Collects could also be used to vary our daily Service on Wednesday, Friday, &c.

The Clergyman may be authorized to select on each occasion, whatever Collects he deems specially appropriate. For instance, when the Lessons of Scripture introduce special reference to any important historical or moral subject—to any recorded act of the Saviour or His Apostles—or any eminent Saint of the previous dispensation; if any Collect specially advert to the principle or grace recorded in such Lesson, it may with edification be read on that occasion.

Also on any chapter occurring which gives prominence to St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John, or their actions, the Collects of the anniversary days, commemorating these faithful servants of the Lord, may be added to the Service; on any chapter occurring which dwells on the second coming of the Lord, an Advent Collect may be added to the Service.

When the Lesson refers to the Crucifixion, add the Collect for the Sunday before Easter.

For the Resurrection, the Collect for Easter Even, or Easter Day.

When any particular teaching of the Apostles is narrated, the Collect for St. Simon and St. Jude.

For any narrative of the happy and holy fellowship of the Apostolic Church, the Collect for All Saints Day.

Other Special Collects can be used in connection with the various scripture narratives.

I. *Collects that may be read alternately with the Absolution.*

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire, or deserve; pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy; forgiving us those good things which we are not worthy to ask, but through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who hatest nothing that thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all them that are penitent; create and make in us new and contrite hearts, that we worthily lamenting our sins, and acknowledging our unworthiness, may obtain of thee, the God of all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Or this, when it is not used at the end of the Litany.

WE humbly beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities; and for the glory of thy name, turn from us all those evils that we have deserved; and grant, that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, and evermore serve thee in holiness and pureness of living, to thy honour and glory, through our only Mediator and Advocate Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

II. *Before Reading the Scripture Lessons.*

BLESSED Lord, who hast caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning; grant that we may in such wise hear them, read and inwardly digest them, that by patience, and comfort of thy holy word, we may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

O ALMIGHTY God, who hast built thy Church upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself

being the head corner stone; grant us to be joined together in unity of spirit by their doctrine, that we may be made an holy temple acceptable unto thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

III. *After Reading Scripture.*

ALMIGHTY God, who shewest to them that be in error the light of thy truth, to the intent that they may return into the way of righteousness; grant unto all them that are admitted into the fellowship of Christ's Religion, that they may avoid those things that are contrary to their profession, and follow all such things as are agreeable to the same, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

O GOD, whose blessed Son was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil, and make us the sons of God, and heirs of eternal life; grant, we beseech thee, that having this hope, we may purify ourselves, even as he is pure; that when he shall appear again with power and great glory, we may be made like unto him in his eternal and glorious kingdom; where with thee, O Father, and thee, O Holy Ghost, he liveth and reigneth ever, one God, world without end. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, who through thy only-begotten Son Jesus Christ hast overcome death, and opened unto us the gate of everlasting life; we humbly beseech thee, that as by thy special grace guiding us, thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

IV. *After the Commandments, or Lessons enjoining obedience.*

O ALMIGHTY God, who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men; grant unto thy people, that they may love whatever thou commandest, and desire that

which thou dost promise; that so among the sundry and manifold changes of the world, our hearts may surely hope for the true joys thou hast promised, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God, who declarest thy Almighty power most chiefly in shewing mercy and pity; mercifully grant unto us such a measure of thy grace, that we, running the way of thy commandments, may obtain thy gracious promises, and be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God, the strength of all them that put their trust in thee, mercifully accept our prayers; and because through the weakness of our mortal nature we can do no good thing without thee, grant us the help of thy grace, that in keeping thy commandments we may please thee, both in will and deed, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty and merciful God, of whose only gift it cometh that thy faithful people do unto thee true and laudable service; grant we beseech thee, that we may so faithfully serve thee in this life, that we fail not finally to attain thy heavenly promises; through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The American Church reads the Saviour's commentary, Matt. xxii., 37, 40 v., after the Commandments, and this second Post-Communion Collect.

O Almighty Lord and everlasting God, vouchsafe we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern both our hearts and bodies in the ways of thy laws, and the works of thy Commandments: that through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

V. *To alternate with the Morning and Evening Collects for Grace and Protection.*

O God, the protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy; increase and multiply upon us thy mercy; that thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal: grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ's sake our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, who seest that we have not power of ourselves to help ourselves; keep us both outwardly in our bodies, and inwardly in our souls; that we may be defended from all adversities which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt the soul, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

We beseech thee, Almighty God, mercifully to look upon thy people; that by thy great goodness they may be governed and preserved evermore, both in body and soul; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

VI. *Collects for Christian Graces and holiness, to be read after the Beatitudes, or at the latter part of the Service.*

O Lord, who hast taught us, that all our doings without charity are nothing worth; send thy Holy Ghost, and pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues, without which whosoever liveth is counted dead before thee. Grant this for thine only Son Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light, now in the time of this mortal life, in which thy Son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day, when he shall come again in his glorious Majesty, to judge both

the quick and dead, we may rise to the life immortal, through him who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. Amen.

LORD of all power and might, who art the author and giver of all good things; graft in our hearts the love of thy name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of thy great mercy keep us in the same, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

VII. *Intercession, being the collects for Good Friday.*

ALMIGHTY God, we beseech thee graciously to behold this thy family, for which our Lord Jesus Christ was contented to be betrayed, and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the cross, who now liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified; Receive our supplications and prayers, which we offer before thee for all estates of men in thy holy Church, that every member of the same, in his vocation and ministry, may truly and godly serve thee, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

O MERCIFUL God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted, and live; have mercy upon all Infidels, and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word; and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

VIII. *Collects before the Sermon.*

DIRECT and guide us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help;

that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name; and finally, by thy mercy may obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, regard, we beseech thee, this congregation with thy favour. Give unto these thy servants the seeing eye, the hearing ear, and understanding heart, that they may receive with meekness the engrafted word which is able to save their souls; grant this for the sake of thy dear Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

POUR down, we beseech thee, upon thy servants here assembled the gracious influences of thy Holy Spirit, that they may hear thy word with attention and reverence; and being taught by thee, may be guided into the way of truth, and finally attain eternal life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O LORD Jesus Christ, who at thy first coming didst send thy messenger to prepare thy way before thee; Grant that the ministers and stewards of thy mysteries may likewise so prepare and make ready thy way, by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, that at thy second coming to judge the world we may be found an acceptable people in thy sight, who livest and who reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

IX. *After the Sermon, or near the conclusion of the prayers*

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all wisdom, grant, we beseech thee, that the words which have now been spoken, so far as they have been in accordance with thy truth, may sink into the hearts of the hearers, and bring forth much fruit, to the glory of thy name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy com-

mandments; that through thy most mighty protection, we may be preserved in body and soul; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Or, any of the collects at end of the Communion Service.

Additional Forms of Thanksgiving.

As there is but one formulary of general praise and thanksgiving in our ordinary Services, the constant repetition of it may be avoided by introducing two additional formularies, compiled from the Communion Service; thus a variation may be made on about eighteen or twenty Sundays in the year; while a third thanksgiving will often be used in the '*New concluding Portion*,' of the Service, (see page 249 compared with pages 228 229.)

The *first of these forms* may be used at one of the Services on the Sundays for Advent, on Christmas day, and to Septuagesima Sunday, inclusive. The same may again be used at one of the Services *from Ascension day to Trinity Sunday*, inclusive.

The *second form* may be used at one of the Services, from Easter day to the fifth Sunday after Easter, inclusive, or upon any special occasion.

To be used in the Morning Service when there is no Sacrament, otherwise in the Afternoon or Evening.

Similar thanksgiving formularies were used in the early Church, according to the Apostolic Constitutions." See Riddle's Christian Antiquities, p. 411.

Versicles to be read by the Minister and People alternately.

M. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

P. It is meet and right so to do.

Minister alone. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should ever give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.

We bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life, but above all for thy inestimable love in the redemption of the world by thy Son, Jesus Christ, whom thou didst cause to take man's nature upon him, and to offer himself to death as an atonement for our sins, and didst afterwards raise him in great triumph to heaven, and didst send the Holy Ghost to instruct guide and comfort us.

For these great mercies let us unite in solemn praise.

All. Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee. We give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord the only begotten Son Jesus Christ, thou Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, receive our praises, and our prayers. For thou only art holy, thou only O Christ with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

II. *Form of Thanksgiving for Easter day and the five Sundays after Easter, but to be read in the Afternoon or Evening when the Communion occurs in the Morning.*

M. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

P. It is meet and right so to do.

M. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should ever give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.

We bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life, for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory, but chiefly are we bouud to praise thee for the glorious resurrection of thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord: for he is the very paschal lamb, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world: who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life.

All. Therefore with Angels and with all the Company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name: evermore praising thee and saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Glory be to thee, O Lord most High. Amen.

This thanksgiving may also be used whenever a fifth Sunday occurs in a month, or on any special occasion.

New Concluding Portion.

(As announced in pages 228 229.*)*

The Prayer for Unity.

O God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace; give us grace seriously to lay to heart the evils thy people suffer, by reason of their unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord: that, as there is but one body, and one Spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

New General Thanksgiving.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, we give thee hearty thanks for all the manifold and great benefits of thy goodness: [**particularly to thy servants who desire now to offer up their praises and thanksgivings for thy late mercies vouchsafed unto them;*] but more es-

* This is to be said when any that have been prayed for desire to return praises.

pecially, in that thou didst not spare thine own Son, but didst deliver him up for us all, that, by the offering of himself as a sacrifice for sin, he might become the Redeemer of mankind, and the author of everlasting life to all such as be saved. We humbly beseech thee to make us thankful for these and all thy mercies. May we daily increase and go forward in the knowledge and faith of thee and thy Son, by the teaching of the Holy Spirit; so that we may ever glorify thy name in our spirits and our bodies which are thine; through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the same Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's name; we beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us who now make our prayers and supplications unto thee; and grant that those things, which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory; through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

Any of the following Benedictions may be used at the end of the Prayers.

MAY God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost bless, preserve, and keep you. The Lord regard you favorably, and endue you with all spiritual grace. Amen.

MAY God the Father pour upon you the riches of his grace, sanctify you by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and preserve you unto everlasting life, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

II Thessalonians, ii., 16, 17.

Now the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work. Amen.

I Peter, v., 10, 11.

The God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you. To him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Hebrews xiii., 20, 21.

Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will; working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The Sacramental and Occasional Services.

As to these Services, I will only advert to one or two points, for my present publication refers principally to the ordinary Sunday Services.

The Exhortation to the Sacrament can be improved by our reading the first Paragraph only, and changing the words "yet so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily," into the following, "yet one which ought not to be received by people openly allowing themselves in sin," or, "without deep reverence." Only a few verbal alterations are requisite in the Service for the Communion.

Baptismal Services.

The forms proposed by the Rev. R. Bingham, or some similar ones would remove the chief objections to the present *Baptismal Services.*

After the introductory portions have been read, and the Child Baptized, Mr. Bingham proposes that the Service should proceed thus—

In token of the reception of *this Child* into the congregation of Christ's Church, I do sign *him* with the sign of the cross; and may *he* never be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the Devil; continuing Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto *his* life's end. Amen.

Then the Minister shall say,

Seeing now, Brethren, that *this Child* is by baptism taken into union with the visible Church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for this blessing, and with one accord make our prayers unto Him, that *this Child* may lead the rest of *his* life according to this beginning.

Let us pray.

Our Father, who art in heaven, &c. Amen.

Then shall the Minister say,

We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that thou hast permitted us to receive *this Child* into the fold of Christ's Church by visible membership; and humbly we beseech thee to grant, that *he*, being dead unto sin may live unto righteousness, and that, as *he* thus *partakes* of the death of thy Son, *he* may also be *partaker* of his resurrection; so that finally, with the residue of thy holy Church, *he* may be admitted to thine everlasting kingdom: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then, all standing up, the Minister shall exhort the Parents.

I exhort you to thank God for this mercy, also to remember that it is your bounden duty to impress upon *this Child*, as soon as *he* is able to understand, the solemn obligations under which *he* lies, as a member of the Christian Church, &c., &c.

Both the Baptismal and the Burial Service should be shortened when they are read on the Sunday, in addition to the Public Services. The Psalms might be omitted in the Burial Service, and a shorter Lesson used occasionally.

New conclusion of the Burial Service after placing the Coffin in the Ground.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased Almighty God to take from this life the soul of our *Brother* here departed, we do now commit *his* body to the ground, reverentially and with godly fear, yet believing in the resurrection of the dead and the salvation of all the true servants of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
The Lord's Prayer.

GRANT, O Lord that as we are baptized into the death of thy blessed Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; so by continual mortifying our corrupt affections, we may be buried with him; and through the grave and gate of death, we may pass to our joyful resurrection, for his merits, who died, and was buried, and rose again for us, thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for a Joyful Resurrection.

To come next, before the Benediction.

O MERCIFUL God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Resurrection and the life; we meekly beseech thee to raise us from the death of sin, unto the life of righteousness, that when we shall depart this life, we may rest in him; and grant that our mortal bodies, though they be sown in weakness and dishonour, may be raised in power and glory, through the merits and mediation of him who is the Firstfruits of them that sleep, who died and was buried, and rose again for us, even Jesus Christ, thy Son our Lord. Amen.

The Grace of &c.

About the alteration of some objectionable words and phrases in our present Formularies.

It would be very desirable that permission should be given by proper authority for the Officiating Clergyman to make some twenty or thirty alterations of words and phrases, which are used in our existing Liturgical Services.

1st.—There are several expressions now pronounced too presumingly as *declarations*, which ought to be expressed in the language of *prayer*.

For instance the Minister has to say, 'We thank thee that thou hast regenerated this infant.' Let it be conceded that the Minister may read, 'We pray thee to regenerate this infant.' So again, 'Almighty God forgive, would be better read, 'May Almighty God forgive.' In the Burial Service, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed," might be better expressed, as in the preceding page. Again, we give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother, out of the miseries, &c., may be got rid of, by substituting the Collect for Easter Even instead of the Prayer which contains these words.

In the Service for Visitation of the Sick, 'I absolve thee from all thy sins,' would be better read, 'May God absolve thee," &c.

2nd.—There are passages in the Psalms of an imprecatory utterance, which might be better rendered as

simply declaratory, For "let them be confounded, say "They will be confounded," &c., &c.

There are other passages even in the Lessons from Scripture, which require to be altered; and which are habitually altered, or omitted, without waiting for authority.

SUMMARY OR TABLE

Of verbal alterations, to be permitted in the use of the customary formularies.

Words or Phrases objected to.	Proposed correction of them.
Dearly beloved brethren.	Dear brethren.
There is no *health* in us.	No *saving health.*
95th Psalm.	
Forty years grieved with *this* generation.	With *that* generation.
Te Deum.	
All the earth doth worship	*Thy church on earth* doth &c
Lord God of *Sabaoth.*	Of *hosts.*
Thine honourable, true, &c.	Thy *honoured*, true, &c.
Thou didst not despise, &c.	Thou didst condescend to be born of the Virgin Mary.
Descended into hell.	Into the abode of spirits, or the clause may be missed
In the Litany.	
Proceeding from the Father and the Son.	The Sanctifier and Comforter.
Neither take thou vengeance of our sins.	Both clauses might be omitted.
And be not angry with us for ever.	

Damnation, here and in the Communion Service.	Condemnation.
From fornication and all other deadly sins.	From evil lusts that war against the soul.
From *sudden* death.	From untimely death.
By thy Cross and Passion.	By thysufferings on the cross
The victory over all her enemies (and in the prayer) that she may vanquish and overcome all her enemies.	Protect and defend her from all enemies.
To love and *dread* thee.	To love and *reverence* thee.
Most righteously deserved.	That we have deserved.
Catholic Church.	Universal Church.
Most religious, most gracious, &c.	Complimentary titles to be discontinued.
Our wretchedness.	Our unworthiness.
Receive the same unworthily	Without due reverence.

Such *obsolete* words as *prevent* us, *ensue, eschew, vouchsafe*—may be expressed in modern terms—guide or go before us, attain, avoid, be graciously inclined.

Besides the above specified changes, it should be understood that a Clergyman is perfectly free to alter any expression in the Services, so that he does not impair or pervert the right meaning of the passage. By such alterations the general confession, and also the Litany may be cleared of the servile despondence of all the worshippers calling themselves 'miserable sinners,' and under a 'burden that is intolerable,' and their iterated petitions for mercy might be discontinued.

Summary of the evils corrected and the advantages to be gained by this plan of Revision and Re-arrangement.

Evils Corrected.

1.—*Tedious repetitions* are set aside

The Lord's Prayer instead of being repeated 32 times (counting 4 *Sundays in a month*) will now only be repeated 16 times.

The Creeds (Apostle and Nicene) will be read alternately in the Morning and Afternoon, and only occur 6 times in the 4 Sundays, instead of 12 times, and on the two occasions when neither Creed is read, the Te Deum or the Litany is read, and they virtually contain the same truths as the Creeds.

The *latter* portion of the Litany is marked to be read as separate, and at a different time from the *early* portion, as it repeats substantially many of the petitions that are used in the earlier part, and thus wearies the attention.

2.—The Commandments and Litany will never occur in the same Service, and each of them will be read in the Afternoon, alternately with the morning, thus they may be profitable to those who attend Afternoon or Evening Service, and the Commandments will be read from the desk as addressed to the general congregation.

In my own opinion some of the Commandments might be abbreviated, as formerly was customary in some places; for the expressions in them are chiefly appropriate to the Jewish dispensation. The first Commandment is already abbreviated, in the form read

by us, from what it contained in Exodus xx. 2. and Deut. v. 6. Our Saviour moreover spoke of them in the abbreviated form, see Matt. xxii. 38. Mark xii. 30, 31. Luke xviii. 20. and it does not appear that the Commandments were read at *full length*, if at all in Public Service before 1552. Pullain or Pullanus, a foreign Reformer and refugee, who had obtained a house in the Abbey Buildings at Glastonbury by the favour of the Duke of Somerset, suggested several additions for the second Service book of King Edward, and the Commandments and responses among them (Procter p. 46. and 341.)

3.—Prayers which substantially enunciate the same petitions, are distributed among the several different Services, such as the prayers for mercy and protection. Likewise the prayers for the Sovereign, and the Royal Family and other State prayers are so distributed: according to present usage the Sovereign may be prayed for four times in the Morning Service, in the Litany, in the versicles that follow it, in the Ante-Communion Service, and in the prayer for the Church Militant, if it be read. Altogether it may be 20 times in the four Sundays: by this re-arrangement about 10 times.

4.—The Epistle * and Gospel of each Sunday are to be read in the Afternoon instead of the usual second lesson, and as a general rule will be more edifying to the Afternoon or Evening Congregation. Thus also the reading of too numerous portions of Scripture in

* The Epistles might be occasionally lengthened by the reading the *whole chapter* whence they are taken.

the Morning Service is avoided, and that Service consequently shortened.

5.—Sundry important verbal amendments are proposed according to the Table of alterations (p. 255) and a principle laid down which would deliver officiating Clergymen from being slaves to the letter of our formularies, provided they carry out the Spirit of them.

Present Advantages of such re-arrangement.

1.—The Millions of the Prayer Book now in use in Great Britain and the Colonies will continue to be serviceable for public worship, and future editions of it can easily be adapted to the improvements here suggested.

2.—Present Incumbents to have the option of retaining the customary routine of Services, as long as they desire it. They can gradually introduce the proposed alterations as they observe that their congregations are prepared for them.

3.—Some of the formularies now utilized bring gospel privileges out more prominently, both in prayer and in thanksgiving, such as the Gospel sentences at the commencement. Gospel sentiments in the Introductory portions. Gospel turn given to the formularies slightly varied from the old ritual. The reading the Beatitudes as spoken by Christ, and having Gospel Lessons in the Afternoon Service.

The more frequent use of some existing Prayers, such as the prayer for the Church Militant.

The Anthem of Easter Morning.
The Collects for Good Friday, and some others.
The Prayer for Unity.

4.—One or two formularies, not generally approved, are simply omitted. Two Thanksgiving formularies are freshly compiled from the Communion Service for the seasons of Advent, Easter &c.

Any few words that are added will be found to be consistent with the Spirit of the Prayer Book, and of the Reformation.

Prospective Advantages.

The foregoing arrangements will moreover facilitate a provision for three Services on the Sunday, without the present unseemly repetition of precisely the same formularies in the Afternoon and Evening Services.

They are also capable of being abbreviated into six varied Services, one for each day in the week, so as not to occupy more than twenty-five or thirty minutes.

Distinct special Sunday Services still require to be provided according to the motion of Bishop Blomfield in 1854, and others in both Houses of Convocation (see pages 202—205.) There would be no difficulty to compile them by the help of Ancient rituals, and modern improvements. There are several additional formularies available to render our present Services even still more varied, and comprehensive, some of which may in time be adopted.

The collection of Ancient Collects and Prayers selected from various Ancient rituals published by the Rev. W. Bright, (Parker, Oxford,) might be consulted for this purpose. Also Riddle's Church Antiquities p. 402 and p. 411.

I wish again to express that I am indebted to the Rev. R. Bingham, author of "The Prayer Book as it might be," and to the author of "The Prayer Book Remodelled," for several excellent hints in their exemplars of a revised Liturgy.

Of course an alteration of the Clerical subscription and of the Act of Uniformity, are measures which should be effected, before the Clergy adopt the arrangements here proposed.

In submitting the above Sketch of the Revision and Re-arrangement of our Liturgical Services, the Author is quite sensible that the judgment of the experienced may be able to improve it in some respects. No one will welcome any improvements that may conduce to edification, more than the writer of these pages.

New Additional Service

Such as some may consider desirable, which I do not however contend to be absolutely necessary. It is a reprint of the Third Service, proposed by the Rev. A. Jenour, with several alterations. Portions of this Service might also be used for public prayer on any week-day or for family worship.

It might commence with some of the scripture sentences, (page 231,) or with the Portion of Psalm V, Give ear to my words, O Lord, (page 234.)

Then the Minister shall put up this preparatory Prayer.

O ALMIGHTY God and Heavenly Father, who knowest the thoughts and searchest the hearts of all men, send thy Holy Spirit, and prepare us inwardly for this thy service. Cleanse our thoughts by thy gracious inspiration. Enable us to worship thee in spirit and in truth. May our confessions be humble, our repentance true, and our prayers and praises fervent and sincere. Let the words of the mouth be indeed the utterance of the soul. Give thy blessings to the Word when read, as well as to the Truth when preached in accordance with the same. May both be effectual for the glory of thy holy Name and the peace and comfort of thy people. Grant this for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

ALMIGHTY and ever-living God, who hast taught us in thy holy word to make prayers and supplications, with giving of thanks, for ourselves and all mankind, and dost promise that thou wilt grant the petitions of those who ask with faith in thy Son's name; hear us, thy servants, we humbly beseech thee, and let thy blessing rest upon us: we pray thee to strengthen our faith, and increase our love, that we may abound more and more in every good work; make known to us thy glory and cause all thy goodness to pass before us, that we may love thee with all the heart, and soul, and mind, and strength; and in cheerful obedience to thy will, may delight to walk in the way of thy commandments; teach us also to love our neighbour as ourselves, and to do to others as we would that they should do to us; suffer us not to follow the multitude to do evil, but give us inward strength that we may overcome the world, and be delivered from the power of its temptations and deceits, and from the defilement of its pollutions. [*The people shall here answer*, Amen.] Make us to know our own weakness, that we may not trust in ourselves, but in thee the living God; and being strong in

thee, and in the power of thy might, may triumph over all our spiritual enemies. [*Ans.* Amen.] Enable us to add to our faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, temperance, and patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly kindness and charity; that we may live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that when he shall appear we may be found of him without spot and blameless; and being made like him, may see him as he is. These things we ask, O Heavenly Father, in thy Son's name.

Ans. Hear us, O God, we beseech thee in these our prayers. Amen.

M. We would pray likewise for our Christian brethren; we would beseech thee to grant them thy heavenly grace, that they may be led onward in the way of truth, and being knit together in the fellowship of a common faith, may love one another with a pure heart, fervently; that all we who call ourselves Christians may be one as thou, O Christ, art one with the Father; that we may be made perfect in one.

Ans. Hear us, O Lord, we beseech thee. Amen.

M. We would pray more especially for thy Church in this our native land, and any other part of the British dominions. Continue unto us, O Lord, thy favour and blessing; may we continue to maintain the simplicity of thy pure Gospel, holding forth the word of truth, and shining as a bright light in a benighted world.

Ans. The Lord be gracious unto us.

M. Our help standeth in the Lord.

Ans. Who hath made heaven and earth.

M. O God, make clean our hearts within us.

Ans. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.

M. O Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world

Ans. Grant us thy peace.

M. Let thy loving kindness be ever upon us.

Ans. As we do put our trust in thee.

Then the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of the day.

After which a metrical Hymn, "Come Holy Ghost our hearts inspire," or verses from the Veni Creator, at the end of the Prayer Book.

Then Prayer to be continued.

M. We would pray also for our Sovereign and our country. O Lord, be merciful to us, and turn from us the judgments we have deserved. Continue to us those blessings we have hitherto enjoyed, and may the sense of thy mercy to us as a nation constrain us to love thee. Bless especially Victoria our Queen, Albert Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and all the royal family; and turn the hearts of the people to them in dutiful affection, and theirs to the people in kindly condescension and benevolence, that both may rejoice together.

Ans. Hear us, gracious Lord, we beseech thee.

M. We would pray likewise for the Bishops and Pastors of the Church. Send down upon them, O Lord, the dew of thy heavenly grace; fill them with the wisdom that is from above; enrich them with spiritual gifts; enable them to live holily that they may be examples to their flocks; make them wise to win souls that they may turn many to righteousness, and hereafter shine as stars for ever and ever in thy eternal and glorious kingdom.

Ans. Endue, O Lord, thy Ministers with righteousness, and let thy blessings rest upon their labours.

M. We would in like manner pray for our rulers in the state, and all in authority. Do thou, O God, who art the Ruler of rulers, the great King over all the earth, give to them wisdom, knowledge, and uprightness of heart, that they may execute justice and maintain truth; may restrain the guilty, protect the innocent, and defend the poor and helpless by just laws and impartial judgments. Amen.

M. And now, gracious Lord and heavenly Father, who knowest our weakness and that we are subject to sorrow and affliction, we would pray for all who are under trials and distress. We commend to thy fatherly goodness all those who are anywise afflicted in mind, body or estate; that it may please thee to comfort and relieve them according to their several necessities, giving them patience under their sufferings and a happy deliverance out of all their afflictions, for Jesus Christ's sake.

Min. Regard O Lord, with pity the sorrows of their hearts.

Peo. Graciously hear us, O Christ, graciously hear us, O Lord Christ.

THOU, O merciful God, has taught us in thy holy word that it is good and right to have kindly affection towards those who are united in family bonds, and daily intercourse. Therefore we would pray one for the other. Look upon us thy servants and bless us; bless us in our families and social relations; as parents and children; as husbands and wives; as masters and servants; as friends and neighbours; bless us, that we may dwell together in love, and faithfully fulfil our several duties. Bless our absent friends and neighbours, and give them all things needful for their spiritual and temporal welfare.

Ans. Hear, O Lord, these our prayers and intercessions. Amen.

M. Finally, Almighty Creator, eternal Lord, who hast made of one blood all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth, we would pray thee to have mercy upon all mankind. Send the light of thy truth, thou that art the Saviour of men, to the dark places of the earth. Take away the veil from the hearts of thy ancient people the Jews, that they may look on him whom their fathers pierced, and be converted and live. Raise up able men to go forth to proclaim thine everlasting Gospel to the heathen with fidelity and power, and let thy blessing rest upon the labours of those who are already engaged in this great and blessed work.

Ans. Hear, Lord, and grant conversion and the knowledge of thy gospel to those who as yet are in darkness. Amen.

Praise ye the Lord.

The Lord's name be praised.

Then one or more of the following Psalms, not reading in all more than 40-45v.

8.	16.	19.	23.	32.	34.
67.	84.	91.	96.	103.	104.
	107.	111.	113.		
	133.	145.	148.		

The Lord be with you.

And with thy Spirit.

Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

ALMIGHTY God, our Father in heaven, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift, we thine unworthy servants praise and adore thy goodness for all the blessings thou hast bestowed upon us; more especially we thank thee for the light of thy holy word [for this sacred day of rest*], and all the other means of grace which we enjoy; and humbly we beseech thee to grant that being instructed by thy word and enlightened by thy Spirit, we may come to the full knowledge of thy truth, and finally attain that blessedness which thou hast promised to those who love and serve thee, through the merits of thy dear Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

ETERNAL God, with whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning, who by thy well-beloved Son hast said: Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: hear we beseech thee the humble petitions of thine unworthy servants; mercifully accept our thanks and praise, and according to thy gracious promise, do for us exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

II Corinthians, xiii., 14.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

* To be said only on Sundays.

On the subject of a revision of the Calendar with a view to a fuller selection of Sunday lessons, the Dean of Norwich observed that "the more any serious Churchman reflects on this desirable object, the deeper does its importance become impressed on his judgment. Some of the lessons now in use are confessedly better adapted to private than to public perusal; and the whole present table of proper lessons comprises only a limited portion of God's Word; the great bulk of which is thus kept out of reach of the poor untaught man who cannot read it himself, and whose chief means of obtaining any knowledge whatever respecting it, consists in hearing it read in the church on the Lord's day. A new and enlarged table of lessons, therefore, for Sundays, would prove the occasion of much additional usefulness, by placing a wider range of chapters at the option of the officiating minister, and thus open fresh treasurers of Scripture to the humbler members of the Church."—(*Speech in Convocation, &c., by the Hon. George Pellew, D.D.* London, Rivingtons: 1857.)

The Dean of Norwich also expresses his desire that our present formularies should be re-arranged. The Sketch of re-arrangement here given may perhaps realize his wish.

I conceive that it might be well to resume alternately with our present Creeds, the use of the Apostles Creed in its earlier state, we should thus avoid the clause which did not originally belong to it, "He descended into hell."

The Roman Creed, or Apostles Creed in its original state.

"I believe in God, the Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, our Lord; who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary; and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, and the third day rose again from the dead, He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

And in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Church, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the flesh." * Amen.

* From Riddle's Christian Antiquities, p. 477. See Bingham's Antiquities, Book X, Ch. iv. Sec. 12.

APPENDIX.

Note to pages 4—6 of Chapter I.

The rise of both our Eucharistic and our Ordinary Services to be traced to an imitation of the ordinances of Jewish worship.

(The following note is abridged from the Rev. P. Freeman's Principles of Divine Service, p. 60—64.)

As the Eucharistic ritual of the early church strikes its roots deeply into the old Israelitish sacrificial ordinances, and is framed in many respects upon them, so there is great reason for saying, did the primitive christian worship of a more ordinary kind take its rise in those services of the Temple and the Synagogue, which had been superadded in the course of time, by David or Hezekiah, or Ezra, to the original letter of the Mosaic institution. So that while the staple elements of that (the sacrificial) institution passed on into the great realities of Christ's offering of himself, and into the supreme act of Christian Service instituted by Him in especial connection with it; the more ordinary kinds of Jewish worship, merged in a parallel manner, into corresponding Christian action.

The earliest writer who gives us any detailed account of the latter, is St. Basil, in the fourth Century.

They consisted in his day, of psalmody with prayers intermingled; the whole ushered in with a profoundly penitential confession, and of these Psalms, as we learn from him and other writers, the greater part were sung (to all appearance) continuously, and without selection, while others were fixed, and used constantly, as the 51st Psalm, with which the nocturn concluded, and the 63rd Psalm, which followed shortly after in the morning office.

The mode of singing was in part alternate, in part with a leader; a response being made by the people at the close of each Psalm. Now in all this there is a manifest resemblance, of a general kind, to the Jewish Temple Service, such as we have reason to believe it existed in our Lord's time. For it too consisted entirely of Psalms and Prayer, the former making up the bulk of the service; and commenced with a penitential prayer. Moreover, some one Psalm was fixed, only varying with the day of the week; and the singing was either alternate, or by way of response or burden.

And as St. Paul and others thus witness to a general resemblance between the Service of their day and the *ancient Jewish Services*, so through another source of information we find that the now *existing* daily offices of the Greek Church entirely answer to the account given by St. Paul, and others, of the ordinary nocturnal Services that were usual in their times. The Services of the Greek Church now are by name, and in their manifest design, nocturnal and early matutinal offices. Such at least is by far the greater and the principal portion of them. They still, as in St. Basil's time, present the aspect of a Service of Psalms, with hymns and prayers intermingled.

The manner of singing is still alternate, or with a response, resembling the Western Antiphon. Thus far then the Greek Offices of the present day thoroughly agree with those of the fourth century, and also, like them, exhibit features which tend to connect them with the Jewish Services.

Note II.

Some account of the Early British Church from A.D. 69 *to* A.D. 597.

In addition to the information (given in pages 17 and 24) that there were Christians in Britain in the first and second Centuries, and that the institutions of the British Church, when Augustine arrived from Rome at the close of the sixth Century, coincided in several respects with those of the Gallican Church, it seems requisite to give the reader some account of the British Church during those five Centuries. Considerable obscurity hangs over the subject, nevertheless we learn from the works of Bede, of Bishop Stillingfleet, and other writers some circumstances which occurred in the British Church, from its rise to its being superseded by the Anglican Church, as set up by Augustine in this country.

The first Christians here were in all probability individuals of the Roman forces or persons associated with them, in their commerce with this Country; some of whom, perhaps, had heard at Rome the truths of the gospel, and brought them hither, and spread the knowledge of them in conversation, and intercourse with others resident in Britain. The next step (as shewn to be highly probable by Bishop Stillingfleet, after a careful examination of the grounds on which it rests) was that St. Paul after his first visit to Rome, proceeded to visit Spain, Gaul, and Britain. I will briefly recount the circumstances which support this view.

We will begin with the presumptions in favour of it, and afterwards bring forward precise statements of ancient writers.

I. We know that St. Paul was twice at Rome after he had, at Miletus, taken a solemn farewell of his converts in the East, Acts xx. 25. "And now, behold, I know that ye all among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more."

He was at Rome the first time about A.D. 63, and again the second time in A.D. 67—68.

There was then between his visits to Rome an interval of four or five years, which duration, or even a shorter one, would have been sufficiently long to allow his preaching both to the Roman settlers and to the natives in Spain, Gaul, and Britain; establishing the converted Christians in their faith, and organizing the Church in tnese latter places; for he was an indefatigable labourer in his mission to the Gentiles.

II. It is remarkable that there is no record whatever of St. Paul having laboured *in any other* Country, during that interval; and he was not a person likely to be unoccupied in his Master's service.

III. There is concurrent testimony of several very early writers which cannot well be invalidated.

First Tertullian (about A.D. 200) asserts that the Britons were worshippers of Christ.

Origen soon after Tertullian, speaks of the British as worshippers through Christ of one God.

Eusebius, about 320, states that some of the Apostles passed over the Ocean to the British Isles.

About the year 400, St. Jerome and Theodoret both assert that St. Paul brought salvation to the Isles that lie in the Western Ocean.

There is indeed a legendary tradition of *St. Peter* having preached the Gospel here, but it is not supported by equal amount of testimony, and Bishop Stillingfleet, a profound scholar and accurate investigator, sets that idea wholly aside as also the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, and some other traditionary fables. St. Peter moreover was more specially the Apostle to the Jews, whereas St. Paul was sent to the Gentiles.

Without asserting that the statement of St. Paul, having been here, is supported by precise and incontestable evidence I deem it to be deserving our reception as the most probable theory which the scanty memorials and records of those times furnished.

I conceive also that we are warranted in believing that St. Paul would introduce in Britain much the same Church observances and the same order in the institution of the Sacrament, as the immediate followers of St. John would introduce in Gaul. Both parties having come westward from the Churches of Asia Minor, Ephesus, &c. The rite was not accompanied with written formularies, but was celebrated with words and phrases treasured in memory. (See page 12.)

The Britons could scarcely have continued long in the faith, before they must have adopted Sacramental Observances and rites, like the other branches of the Primitive Church; and the Churches in Gaul and Britain would conduce to keep up the recognition of their being kindred institutions, and accordingly we shall see they acted on several occasions, when they met in the Councils on the Continent, consistently with this kindred alliance (as for instance at the general Council of Arles in Gaul or France, in 314.)

The reader that desires a fuller account of Stillingfleet's argument (about St. Paul being in Britain,) can consult his Antiquities of the British Church, which is based upon the works of Gildas, and the chief historians of that period.

At the Council of Arles there were three British Bishops supposed each to have represented a British Province. One from London, one from York, one from Caerleon, the metropolitan sees. There was also one British Priest and one Deacon. It is remarkable that after they had drawn up and settled the decrees made at that Council—they sent them to the Bishop of Rome, as to a brother bishop holding an important see, to promulge; but there was not a word about recognizing any supreme authority in him. (Stillingfleet c. 2, p. 125.) "They wished indeed their brother had been present with them, to have judged together with them."

At the Council of Nice A.D. 325, the Emperor Constantine asserted that the rule about Easter, was received in the provinces and in *Britain.*

Though not present at the Sardian Council (A.D. 340,)

it appears that the British Bishops communicated their assent to the favorable judgment then passed in vindication of Athanasius.

Several British Bishops were present at Ariminum (A.D. 360). Three of them were so poor, that having no funds of their own, they were entertained at the cost of the Emperor. Their poverty is accounted for, by the disturbances and loss of property by political convulsions in Britain, and the beginning of the irruptions of the Picts.

Gildas tells us in his history (written about A.D. 560,) that the British Church had continued uninterrupted from its first rise to the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 303.) In that persecution the first martyrs courageously met their death. Alban, who had served seven years as a soldier in the Roman army under Diocletian, afterwards became a christian, and suffered for maintaining the christian faith, at the town of Verulam—the name of which place was subsequently changed to St. Alban's, in memory of the martyr. A soldier who refused to take part in the execution of Alban, was also martyred at the same time. Two other christians Julius, and Aaron suffered about the same date at Caerleon. Gildas states that as soon as that persecution was over, the British Church having gained strength and favour by the courage of its martyrs and confessors, flourished again in great peace and unity, until the Arian doctrines were promulgated and gave it disturbance. They rebuilt their Churches and held solemn festivals and sacraments in the reign of Constantine.

They were also free from suffering as long as his son Constantius protected them (about A.D. 340,) but after his death, Constans his other son, neglected, or was unable to protect them.

The heresies that sprung up about the middle of the fourth Century, Arianism and Pelagianism, (being brought into Britain by some who had been abroad, and carried back these doctrines with them,) caused much controversy and disorder. So the Church of Britain was vexed and did not prosper. It was in consequence of these disorders that Germanus and

Lupus were dispatched, (about the beginning of the fifth Century, A.D. 428,) from Gaul to Britain, and succeeded in exposing and confuting the errors that had been promulgated in this country.

Not only were Germanus and his companions successful in putting down the heretical doctrines, but great benefit arose in consequence of their visit to this country, for a great revival of learning took place by the educational establishments under Germanus and Lupus, and their disciples in Wales and the adjacent districts. Colleges for the instruction of young men were founded at Llandaff and at St. David's. Among the most eminent instructors were Dubricius, Primate of Wales at Caerleon, and Iltutus. Many sons of the gentry and noblemen were educated by them. The following are named with special distinction by Stillingfleet, vol. 1, p. 303. Sampson, who was first Archbishop of York, and when the British Church was suppressed there, became Archbishop of the Britons, at Dol, in Brittany; Paul, Bishop of the Oxismü, and Gildas, surnamed the Wise. Aidan and other scholars flocked to Dubricius, from all parts of Britain. Dubricius removed subsequently from Caerleon to Llandaff. Iltutus is said to have had his College at Llan-Iltyd, the word Llan signifying the *church* of Iltyd. It was near Neath—others however, affirm it was at Llantwit, near Boverton. Daniel, another disciple of Germanus, was Bishop of Bangor, and had a college there.

These Institutions combined learning and devotion, and so were in fact patterns and precursors of our modern Diocesan Colleges at Wells, Chichester, Lichfield, &c. Immense numbers resorted to them, so that they approached nearly to the character of Universities.

Patrick who came over from Gaul studied under Germanus; and he introduced similar institutions at Armagh and other places in Ireland (about A.D. 440—450.). He is therefore very properly honoured as the reviver of literature and civilization in that country. He is recorded to have visited Glastonbury, and to have ended his days at the Abbey.

Gildas, whose works are the earliest of British origin, also proceeded to Ireland (about A.D. 566,) and was very useful in reviving the schools of learning there, which were beginning to fall into disuse, when a hundred years had elapsed since Patrick first planted them in that country.

The Benedictines in a *subsequent* age took up the encouragement of learning. But this was not done by them on any grand scale till the time of Charlemagne (about A.D. 790.) He re-instituted schools in monasteries and Cathedrals. The Benedictine Establishments for education were after that date very celebrated, for instance the one at Glastonbury was pre-eminently so.

But throughout Britain, a very long period of trouble now ensued; for the forces of the Romans were gradually withdrawn from Britain to Rome, either to support the claims of various candidates for the Sovereign Power at the capital, or to strengthen the defences against barbarian inroads These troubles at Rome, at last in the fifth Century obliged the Romans to tell the Britons, that they must thenceforth learn to protect themselves against the Picts and Scots. The Romans bade farewell finally to Britain in A.D. 447.

Specimen of the Teaching of a British Bishop.

The only specimen of the teaching of any of the Early British Bishops, that is on record. An extract from Archdeacon Churton's History of the Early English Church, p. 16:—At the time of the departure of the Romans lived Fastidius, bishop, as it is supposed, of London, who is the only Christian Teacher among the ancient Britons, of whom any doctrinal work yet remains. He has left a short treatise on the character of a Christian life, addressed to a pious widow named Fatalis: in which, after modestly excusing his own want of knowledge and little skill, and begging her to "accept his household bread, since he cannot offer her the finest flour," he shews, with very plain and good arguments, that Christians are called to imitate Him whom they worship; that without a life of piety and uprightness, it is vain to presume on the mercy of God, or to boast of the name of Christian; that it was always the rule of God's dealings with mankind to love righteousness, and hate iniquity.

"It is the will of God," says he, "that his people should be holy, and apart from all stain of unrighteousness; so righteous, so merciful, so pure, so unspotted by the world, so single-hearted, that the heathen should find no fault in them, but say with wonder, 'Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance.'

"We read in the evangelist that one came to our Saviour and asked him what he should do to gain eternal life. The answer he received was, 'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.' Our Lord did not say, keep faith only. For if faith is all that is required, it is over-much to say that the commandments must be kept, but far be it from me that I should suppose my Lord to have taught anything overmuch. Let this be said only by those, whose sins have numbered them with the children of perdition.

"Let no man deceive or mislead his brother: except a man is righteous, he hath no life; except he keep the commandments of Christ, he hath no part with him. A Christian is one who shews mercy to all; who is provoked by no wrong; who suffers not the poor in this world to be oppressed; who relieves the wretched, succours the needy; who mourns with mourners, and feels the pain of another as his own; who is moved to tears by the sight of another's tears; whose house is open to all; whose table is spread for all the poor; whose good deeds all men know; whose wrongful dealing no man feels; who serves God day and night, and ever meditates on his precepts; who is made poor to the world, that he may be rich towards God; who is content to be without glory among men, that he may be glorious before God and his angels; who has no deceit in his heart; whose soul is simple and undefiled, and his conscience faithful and pure; whose whole mind rests on God; whose whole hope is fixed on Christ, desiring heavenly things rather than earthly, and leaving human things to lay hold on things divine."

He concludes this excellent character of a Christian life by applying it to the good widow to whom it is addressed:—"If all those who are called Christians ought to be such as I

describe, you need not be told what kind of widow you ought to be, the Apostle tells you: "She that is a widow indeed trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers, night and day." And elsewhere the same Apostle marks out the deeds and conversation of a true widow: 'Let a widow be chosen who is well reported of for good works: if she have brought up children' (that is if she have brought them up to God); 'if she have lodged strangers; if she have washed the saints' feet; if she have relieved the afflicted; if she have diligently followed every good work.'

"Be then such as the Lord has taught you to be; such as the apostle would have set forth as a pattern. Be holy, humble, and quiet, and employed without ceasing in works of mercy and righteousness. Above all, ever study the commandments of your Lord; earnestly give yourself to prayers and psalms; that, if it be possible, no one may ever find you employed but in reading or in prayer. And when you are so employed, remember me."

This doctrine of the ancient British Bishop is suited to all times, and it may be judged by this only remaining specimen, that there were in the age of the fathers of the Church, in this country also, teachers well deserving of the name of Christian fathers.

The Britons were so unwise as to invite Saxon mercenaries to help them against the Picts and Scots. These were sundry tribes the Jutes from Jutland (Denmark;) the Angles from Sleswick, and Holstein, the Saxons from the country nearer towards the Elbe. These rude tribes were glad to pour their troops into Britain, and they soon began to domineer over, and to oppress those, whom they had come to assist. At last they boldly assaulted and obtained the mastery over them.

Wherever they came they crushed all Christian institutions, disrobed Churches, and slew priests and people, as Gildas has recorded. He speaks of three orders—the higher Priests or Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, and we find at the Councils during this stage of their history, several indications

of these orders of ministry. The dreadful calamities that ensued during the subsequent irruptions of several bodies of Saxons and their settlement in the seven Saxon Kingdoms, reduced the British Church to the lowest ebb. Their Churches were destroyed, themselves and their priests driven to the remotest fastnesses for safety, where they could only erect Churches wattled with stones and boughs of trees. The great place for refuge was in Wales or counties adjacent to it, in Cornwall, Somersetshire, and upward to Cumberland. To the former place—with its Metropolitan See at Caerleon the Bishop of London and the Bishop of York retired, when they saw their Churches destroyed, or turned into temples for the idol worship of the Saxons.

The Isle of Avalon also (Glastonbury,) being surrounded by impassable moors and large marshes, then overflooded, furnished for a long time, a safe retreat, and was to many a favourite and celebrated resort.

What was the public worship of the Ancient British Church? I reply, there are very few intimations as to the precise nature of the Services of the Church in Britain, from the first to the sixth Century. We can only form an opinion by conjecture, and by considering parallel cases, and what the state of civilization among the Britons rendered practicable.

As in the Eastern primitive Church, the ministrations of the priests and the choir were the chief acts of worship, while the multitude stood by, and from time to time by attitudes of bowing or prostration, or by ejaculations of a word or two, (such as Amen, or Hallelujah, or "Glory be to the Father, &c.) indicated their assent to the Priest's utterances of prayer or confession, of praise and thanksgiving, or in intercession for special persons, or for special blessings; *so* it must have been with the very partially civilized inhabitants of Britain. We cannot imagine them capable of reading, or of continuous union in reciting prayers.

A little reflection will convince us that the exigencies of a simple and illiterate people *required* the delegation of the burden and actual performance of the chief portions of public

worship to the Ministers of religion, both in the Jewish times and in the dawn of Christianity among partially civilized communities. Hence outward ceremonies, and the prominence and leading of the Priesthood were invariably prevalent.

The tenor of their worship thus must have consisted in the priest's recitation of psalms and canticles, or hymns familiar to the people. Short sentences from Scripture, as anthems with responds, might be sung by the choir, where such choirs existed. Intervals were in the primitive churches left for silent worship, to be performed by each individual reciting the Lord's prayer, or such prayer as his own heart could dictate, and from time to time the Priest summed up the topics of their devotions in a suitable Collect, or short prayer, consistent with the presumed sentiments of the worshippers.

From the circumstance of the people being ignorant, and uneducated, must have arisen the custom of the Priest leading them as it were by what is called the 'bidding Prayer,' wherein the Priest did not actually put up prayer himself, but addressed them thus, suggesting the topics, for their devotion: in the 17th Century it ran thus, "Ye shall pray for Christ's "Holy Catholic Church, that is for the whole congregation "of Christian people, dispersed throughout the world, and "specially &c., &c., and I require you most especially to pray "for the King, &c., &c. Ye shall also pray for the Ministers "of God's Holy Word, and Sacraments." Thus the people were invited to pray, by the minister successively naming the persons and objects they should pray for, and concluding thus "Finally let us praise God for all those who are departed out of this life, in the faith of Christ, and pray unto God that we may have grace to direct our lives after their good example," &c., &c., always concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

The specimen of a 'bidding prayer' here given is one of *modern* date. The sentences of it are extracted from the formulary which was re-appointed in the 55th Canon, in the book of Canons compiled in 1604, out of the pre-existing documents of the Church. I do not of course put it forward

as a formulary of the Early British Church, but as exemplifying the kind of guidance which the Priests in all probabilty supplied for the devotions of an illiterate people. They would naturally also give from time to time exhortations, or addresses in exposition of the truths of the Gospel, or explanation of the religious duties of their hearers, according to the ability of the preacher, and the requirements of the people.

I do not find any more positive information to depend upon in respect of the details of their public worship.

The times of Service most likely coincided with the Early Morning worship and the Evening worship of the East, with the Orisons, and Vespers of the Primitive Ages. I cannot conceive that the buildings for worship were many, or thickly planted over the country, but that there were chief Churches here and there, in the largest towns, and only occasional ministrations in chapelries in the villages, performed by ministers visiting them from time to time. There doubtless were larger periodical assemblies for the Eucharist with the usual solemnities of the age, and also celebrations of the Baptismal rite, at the great festivals of Easter, &c.

The reader will remember however, that the country was for the great part of these Centuries much disturbed by internal dissensions, and wars between the chiefs, by inroads of the Picts from the North, of the Scots or Irish first from the West, afterwards by their uniting with the Picts in assaulting the British: and ultimately by the incursions and devastations of the Saxons.

Unavoidably therefore the times of their meeting for worship must have been greatly interrupted, and frequently omitted altogether for continuous periods, and a consequent demoralization of the population ensued.

Interview of the British Bishops with Augustine, A.D. 600-603.

When Augustine had been three or four years in England he sought a Conference with the Bishops of the Ancient British Church wishing to have their co-operation in preach-

ing Christianity, and to have them under his authority as Primate. The first communication between Augustine and them has been adverted to in page 24.

It should have been expressed however that were two interviews. At the first of these Augustine acquired popular favour by the assumption of miraculously restoring a blind man to sight. The Britons could not refute his pretensions, but required a delay for consideration of his proposals.

Their place of meeting was called afterwards Augustine's ac (oak) being held under the shadow of some large oak tree, and the place is thought probably to have been in Worcestershire, on the borders of the West Saxons.

The British Bishops doubting their power to cope with him, ere they proceeded to the second conference, visited an Anchorite or Hermit, to consult him how to conduct their next interview. He with an apparent shrewdness counselled them to observe how this messenger from Rome should conduct himself on their approach, and to guide themselves according as he should rise to meet them or not. They with the jealousy and suspicion of persons who had been hard pressed by severe treatment, entered the circle where Augustine sat to receive them. He did not rise. They announced their readiness to hear his proposals. They were to the following effect:—"I ask only three things of you., "If you will obey me in these three points:—To keep Easter at the due time; to perform the administration of Baptism, by which we are again born to God, according to the custom of the holy Roman and Apostolic Church; and jointly with us to preach the word of God to the nation of the Angles; we will readily tolerate all the other things you do, though contrary to our customs."

They were irritated at his want of courtesy in not rising to welcome them, and felt also that the terms he offered implied submission to the Church of Rome, and by consequence to Augustine's authority over them, and they replied that they would not forsake their own customs. in the particulars alluded to by Augustine, nor would they recognise at all his authority as archbishop over them. At this second meeting

were present seven bishops and many learned men, chiefly from the monastery of Bangor.

The terms Augustine had used, "If you will obey me," and we will tolerate your other non-observances—indicated an expected submission to the authority—which Gregory had conferred upon him to be supreme over the Bishops, and therefore the answer of the British Bishops was strictly to the point. On receiving their reply Augustine was greatly irritated, and expressed a threat that since they would not unite with him in efforts to christianize the Saxons, they might be left to experience violence from the sword of those Saxons. And shortly afterward a Saxon Chief attacked the British, and on the monks presenting themselves on the field of battle to pray for the British, he ordered them to be ruthlessly slain. There were said to be seven divisions of the Monks of Bangor, each division numbering 300. Twelve hundred of the number are said to have perished on this occasion.

After this the British Church maintained for a few centuries a separate and independent existence, but it was only in the parts of Britain inaccessible to the Saxon invaders.

Note III.

The different processes of organization in respect to the ordinary Service, in the Eastern and Western Churches, with information of the changes in the Western Churches, which will better enabled us to account for the subsequent amalgamation in the Anglican Church, of elements, some derived from the Eastern Churches, some from the Western.*

The Eastern Churches on the Coasts of Asia Minor and in Greece.

In the documents of the ordinary offices of the East, we can study the successive stages in the formation of their Sunday and week-day Services.

* Some of the points are taken from Mr. Freeman's work, but they are qualified to an extent that leaves the present author responsible for what is here advanced.

We obtain a view, not of the results merely, but of the *process* also. Their stratification, if I may be allowed to borrow an illustration from modern science, is distinctly seen in the order of its occurrence. The successive deposition of a first, a second, and a third formation go on almost before our eyes in the ritual history of the first few ages in the East. We have first the primary and simple twofold structure (of the Eucharistic and Ordinary Services) composed in a great measure of the detritus or fragments of the elder Jewish formation, and comparatively little organized. This passes within the first three or four Centuries, into the threefold and the far more elaborately organized structures of what we may call the second period. And we shall presently be called upon to witness in the fifth or sixth Century, the leisurely superposition of an entirely novel group, completing the series." (The Services of the Canonical hours described in pages 27—29.)

"We see that it was by no means the temper or disposition of the Eastern Church of the first few Centuries to originate altogether new Services, but at the utmost to develope out of the old, to retain at least some large and prominent features serving to identify the altered Service with that which preceded it.

The real difference in the gradual development by the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches in the matter of their ordinary Offices of Divine Worship was this. The *Orientals* throughout had adhered to the particular stock or family of Offices originally possessed by them after the model of Jewish worship detailed pages 4—6., and have developed them in strict accordance with their proper laws and principles, not admitting any foreign influence to bear upon them. The consequence is that, as has been well observed; "the accounts which we have of the Eastern Offices in writings of the third, fourth, and fifth Centuries all appear to agree most singularly," as far as they go, "with the now *existing* Greek Offices."

Process of organization in the Western Churches.

On turning, however, to consider the development of the ordinary Services for worship in the *Western Churches*, we

are met by a very intricate knot of Ecclesiastical History, to which it is necessary we should give our best attention, if we wish to understand correctly the derivation or process of the liturgical services adopted in Western Europe.

It is acknowledged by all that Christianity had been early spread on the shores of Italy and Gaul; and onwards to Spain and Britain; and doubtless some simple organization of a system in their Services, must have thenceforth prevailed.

I have in my first chapter described the settlement of missionaries from the East in Gaul, and a considerable intercourse must have long continued between the Eastern Church at Constantinople and the Church at Rome, and the other Churches of Italy and the neighbouring countries. But the descriptions of the *ordinary* services of the *earliest* Gallican and Roman Institutions are avowedly scanty.

We find no clear record of their Services until the time when it is *generally admitted* that a great revision and rearrangement of all the Roman offices was being made (from 420 to 580) under Popes Damasus, Leo, Gelasius and Gregory.

The organic change was initiated by Damasus—who is said to have taken counsel of St. Jerome, as to remodelling the Roman offices. Pope Leo pursued the same course. Cassian was the disciple and representative of Jerome, and he is also thought to have been employed (as experienced in both the Eastern and Western systems) in remodelling both the *Roman* and *Gallic* Institutions.

Cassian had spent his youth in the East—had been ordained deacon at Constantinople, was both a trusted friend of Jerome in the East, and a favourite with Pope Leo in the West, and I am disposed to receive the conjecture of Mr. Freeman, that in all probability Pope Leo and Cassian conjointly commenced a great reorganization of both the Roman and the Gallican Church, which Gelasius and Gregory, on succeeding to the Papacy, conducted onwards to its completion.

The somewhat undefined system of the ordinary services at Rome were, after the time of that reorganization, accurately

marked out. The system of the seven hours of worship daily had now been adopted, according to institutions which Jerome had himself organized or witnessed in the monasteries of Palestine, Egypt and Constantinople. St. Benedict (the founder of the monasteries of the Black Friars or the Benedictines) enjoined the observance of the seven canonical hours (of which I have given a brief account in pages 28, 29.)* The new Services thus introduced must have caused considerable modification of the Services before used—and probably the rejection or discontinuance of some portions of them.

Thus we find that in a manner considerably different from what had been the course in the Eastern Church, the previous institutions in the West, were in the fifth and sixth Century, re-cast or re-organized.

Both the Gallic and the Roman Institutions were thus remodelled; and some of the new elements of organization found, during the latter part of the fifth Century, and during the sixth Century, their way to Britain. For we know that monastic institutions, and monastic rules and observances were prevalent in Wales and the western districts of Britain, previous to the coming of Augustine in A.D. 597.

The knowledge of the assimilation which had been going on both in the Gallican and Roman Church prepares us to understand the facility with which a combination of institutions, originally distinct, viz., the Gallic and Roman, was effected in Augustine's time, and continued through many centuries afterwards.

After this explanation we see that the good understanding which existed between Pope Gregory and the Gallican Church was quite natural. So when Gregory despatched Augustine on his mission to Britain, he directed him to land at Marseilles, bearing a letter to the Gallican Bishop of Marseilles, requesting his counsels and furtherance of Au-

* In a note on the sixteenth Century—we shall see how these Services of the seven hours fell into disuse and were wholly disregarded by the Laity even in the strictest Roman Catholic countries.

gustine's mission to England; and with a view of his taking on from Marseilles some French or Gallic Presbyters to assist and co-operate in that mission.

We moreover see that though the Anglican Church was formed upon a liberal admission of institutions from Gallic, Eastern and Roman sources (according to Gregory's counsels to Augustine), this was not such a complete fusion into the Roman system, as to obliterate many distinct features of Gallic or eastern origin—nor was the distinct standing of the Anglican Church as an independent Church—altogether compromised. And in fact it never did completely forfeit its independence—though for a few centuries it sank lamentably under the dominant influence of Rome.

The reader must therefore distinctly bear in mind that the Anglican Liturgy—in the uses of Sarum, York, &c., though it had many of its formularies identical with those of Rome, had some sufficiently marked features and arrangements of its own, which privilege it is to be regarded as a *variety of Liturgy*, distinct from that of Rome, though subjected to Roman supremacy for several centuries.

This marked *difference* from Rome continued for several Centuries, first in the Latin Services anterior to the Reformation, and was afterwards retained in the portions of the Protestant Services, that had been translated with revision and retrenchment from those Anglican Latin Services.

It is incontestible therefore that the Anglican Church was not closely and accurately conformable to the Roman formularies and order.

Here another question arises how we are to account for the continuative links from the *Eastern* sources onwards through the *Roman and Western* Churches down to our *English* Liturgy. To my mind the conformity of some of our formularies and customs to those of the *Eastern* Church is assignable to the Eastern element which characterized the Gallican Institutions both from the beginning under Irenæus and Pothinus (see page 6.) and which was continued in them at their re-

organization and of the Roman Liturgy too by Cassian as I have before mentioned.

The same Eastern element was partially admitted in the reconstructed Roman Services in the sixth Century.

Accordingly there was not the irreconcilable diversity, which young students might imagine there might be, in Institutions coming from such different quarters.

When Augustine therefore came from the Pope to Britain his instructions were peculiarly conciliatory. Queen Bertha had previously introduced at Canterbury, under the guidance of her Gallican Chaplain, Bishop Linghard, many portions of the Gallican order. The Ancient British tribes in remote parts of the Island, still adhered to institutions derived from Gaul. Gregory's instructions therefore to Augustine were extremely wise as well as charitable in spirit. He was instructed, in shaping the new Institutions for England, to make use of what would be most pleasing to God and suitable to the people, introducing among them any formulary that he might deem best whether it were derived from the Gallican, the Roman, or any other Church. *

* See the Note upon Augustine's first years in England,

Note IV. to pages 23—25.

Augustine and the Anglo Saxon Church.

The account of the arrival of Augustine and the companions of his Mission in England in A.D. 597.—*and of the institution of the Early Anglican Church, which partook greatly but not exclusively of the Roman character in its liturgy and regulations.*

Taken from the History of Bede, who wrote about 720—730 A.D., Book I chapters 25 and 26.

Augustine on his arrival from Rome landed in the Isle of Thanet in the year 597, and was favourably received by Ethelbert King of Kent, and his Queen Bertha. This latter was a daughter of Charibert King of Paris; and having been brought up in the Christian faith, and having married Ethelbert upon the condition that she should be allowed to retain her religion, and to have Bishop Lindhard constantly resident with her to preserve her faith, she had doubtless greatly prepared Ethelbert to listen to Augustine's mission, and influenced him in giving the mission a kind reception. As soon as Augustine and his companions had entered the dwelling place assigned to them in Canterbury, they devoted themselves to the course of life practised in the Primitive Church, applying themselves to frequent prayer and fasting, preaching the word of life to as many as they could, despising all worldly things, as not belonging to them; receiving only their necessary food from those whom they taught, themselves living in all respects conformably to what they prescribed to others, and being always disposed to suffer any adversity and even to die, for that truth which they preached. In short several of their hearers believed and were baptized, admiring the simplicity of their innocent life, and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine.

There was near the east side of the city an ancient church dedicated to the honour of St. Martin, which had been built whilst the Romans were still in the Island, wherein the Queen, who, as has been said before, was a Christian, used to pray. In this Augustine and his companions began to

meet, to sing, to pray, to say mass, (the communion service,) to preach, and to baptize, till the king, being converted to the faith, allowed them to preach more openly, and to build or repair Churches in all places, which had from disuse fallen into decay, during the heathen rule of the Saxons, or had been destroyed by their violence.

When the king among the rest, induced by the unspotted life of these holy men, and their delightful promises (which they proved to be most certain, by many miracles,) believed and was baptized, greater numbers began daily to flock together to hear the word, and forsaking their heathen rites, to associate themselves, by believing, to the unity of the Church of Christ. Their faith and the conversion of the king is reported so far to have encouraged, as that he compelled none to embrace christianity, but only showed more affection to the believers, as to his fellow-citizens in the heavenly kingdom. For he had learned from the instructors and leaders of his own salvation, that the service of Christ ought to be voluntary, not by compulsion. Nor was it long before he gave his teachers a settled residence in his metropolis of Canterbury, consistent with their position, together with such possessions of different kinds, as were necessary for their subsistence.

Augustine having his episcopal see granted him in the royal city, as has been said, and being supported by the king, recovered (or restored) therein, a Church, which he was informed had been built by the early British Christians (*i. e.*, by Christians in Britain during the supremacy of the Roman armies and government in Britain.) This building he consecrated in the name of our Holy Saviour, God and Lord, as *Christ's Church.* It was on the site where the Cathedral now stands, bearing the same name, and he established also at Canterbury, a residence for himself and all his successors. He also built a monastery (St. Augustine's) not far from the city to the eastward, in which, by his advice, Aedilberct, (Ethelbert,) erected from the foundations the Church of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and enriched it with several donations; wherein the bodies of the same Augustine, and of

all the bishops of Canterbury, and of the kings of Kent, might be buried. However, Augustine himself did not consecrate that Church, but Laurentius, his successor, "and it has retained the name of its founder St. Augustine, and is at present restored, and very appropriately occupied as a Missionary College."

The inquiry which Augustine addressed to Pope Gregory about framing Institutions for the Anglican Church.

Augustine subsequently repaired to the Bishop of Arles in France, in order to be formally ordained Archbishop for the English nation; and after having returned into Britain sent Laurentius, a priest, and Peter, a monk, to Rome, to acquaint Pope Gregory that the Anglo Saxon nation had received the faith of Christ, and that he was become their Bishop. He desired from the Pope directions and guidance upon several points. I shall only advert to the question he referred to Rome, which was connected with Liturgical Services. Augustine's question was this:—

"Whereas the faith is one and the same, are there different customs (*i. e.* liturgies) in different Churches? and, is one custom of masses observed in the holy Roman Church, and another in the Gallican Church? I suppose Augustine put this question, not as ignorant of the facts, but as desirous of guidance how he should act, finding the Gallican Liturgy was introduced at St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, by Bishop Lindhard, the chaplain to Queen Bertha."

Pope Gregory's answer is thus recorded:—

You know, my brother, the custom of the Roman Church in which you remember you were bred up. But it pleases me, that if you have found anything, either in the Roman, or Gallican, or any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the

sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Choose, therefore, from each Church those things that are pious, religious, and correct; and when you have as it were made them up into one body, let the minds of the English be accustomed thereto.

Bede's History I, 27:—Mihi placet, sive in Romana, sive in Gallicanâ, seu in quâlibet ecclesiâ aliquid invenisti, quod plus omnipotenti; Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas; et in Anglorum Ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipuâ, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas.

Accordingly we find that the Anglican Church both under the Saxon dynasty and the Norman, preserved features of its own, decidedly distinct and independent of Rome:*—that the Bishops of the several Dioceses manifested an independence of the *Papal See*, as far as they could with the deference which circumstances rendered necessary, and that, though Roman influence doubtless was for a long time dominant in England, the Gallic elements remained uneradicated, the English use was never entirely assimilated to the Romans, and the public mind was not subjugated into unqualified submission as was the case in several other countries. The French or Gallican Church also has all along maintained something of an independence, but not to the same extent as the English.

Further information from Bede, c. 29.

Pope Gregory hearing that Augustine had made thousands of converts, and that a large field was open to harvest, and but few labourers, sent to aid him other ministers of the word, and all things requisite for the worship and service of the Church in England. He also sent a letter conferring the pall or Archbishop's peculiar dress for the service of the mass, with directions about constituting twelve Bishops in the South of England; to be subject to Augustine's jurisdiction, "in such manner that the Bishop of London, (probably this means the Archbishop of the South of England) shall for the

* See Freeman's Principles, &c., p. 246—253.

future be always consecrated by his own Synod, and that he receive the honour of the pall from this holy and apostolical see, which I, by the grace of God, now serve. But we will that you send to the city of York such a Bishop as you shall think fit to ordain; yet so, that if that city, with the places adjoining, shall receive the word of God, that Bishop shall also ordain twelve Bishops, and enjoy the honour of a metropolitan: for we design, if we live, by the favour of God, to bestow on him also the pall; and yet we will have him to be subservient to your authority; but after your decease, he shall have to preside over the Bishops whom he shall ordain, as to be in no way subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. But for the future let this distinction be between the bishops of the cities of London and York, that he may have the precedence who shall be first ordained. But let them unanimously dispose, by common advice and uniform conduct, whatsoever is to be done for the zeal of Christ, let them arrange matters with unanimity, decree justly, and perform what they judge convenient in a uniform manner. "'But to you, my brother, shall, by authority of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, be subject not only those Bishops you shall ordain, and those that shall be ordained by the Bishop of York, but also all the priests in Britain; to the end that from the mouth and life of your holiness they may learn the rule of believing rightly and living holily; and so fulfilling their office in faith and good conduct, they may, when it shall please the Lord, attain the heavenly kingdom. God preserve you in safety, most reverend brother."

Pope Gregory's directions were good about turning the temples which the Saxons had used for their idols, into Churches; and also about allowing them to continue to retain feasts after slaying cattle: in order that they might lay aside the misapprehension of sacrifice to idols, and while they had the gratification of such feasts, continued to them, might therein honour God the giver of all things, for their sustenance.

Gregory's Letter to Mellitus, who was afterwards the first Anglican Bishop of London, the capital of the early Saxons.

The Letter begins thus in the ancient form:—"To his most beloved son, the Abbot Mellitus, Gregory, the servant of the servants of God.* We have been in much suspense, since the departure of our congregation (the mission) that is with you, because we have received no account of the success of your journey. When, therefore, Almighty God shall bring you to the most reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what I have, upon mature deliberation on the affair of the English, determined upon; namely, that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed, let water be consecrated and sprinkled in the said temples; let altars be erected, and relics placed. For if those temples are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God; that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may more readily resort to the places to which they have been accustomed. And because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices of devils, some solemnity must be substituted for their observance: as for instance, that on the day of the dedication of their Churches, or on the nativities of the holy martyrs, whose relics are there deposited, they may build themselves huts of the boughs of trees, about those Churches which have been turned to that use from temples, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil, but both kill cattle to the praise of God in their eating, and return thanks to the Giver of all things for their sustenance; to the end that, whilst some gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of the grace of God.

* From Bede's first book, c. 30. Some think this letter was earlier dated than the one to Augustine.

"For there is no doubt that is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds; because he who endeavours to ascend to the highest place, rises by degrees or steps, and not by leaps. Thus the Lord made himself known to the people of Israel in Egypt; and yet he allowed them the use, in his own worship, of the sacrifices which they were wont to offer to the devil; so as to command them in sacrifice to him to kill beasts, to the end that, changing their hearts, they might lay aside one part of the sacrifice whilst they retained another; that whilst they offered the same beasts which they had been wont to offer, they should offer them to God, and not to idols; and thus they would no longer be the same sacrifices. This it behoves your affection to communicate to our aforesaid brother, that he, being there present, may consider how he is to order all things: May God preserve you in safety, most beloved son."

The Benedictine Monastery at Glastonbury, built by King Edmund, upon the site of the ancient British Church, and Dunstan appointed Abbot, about A.D. 940.

Dunstan's high connexions and qualities of unquestionable value, easily procured him again admittance into the royal palace. Edmund had ascended the throne. To this young prince the illustrious Benedictine appears to have been appointed chaplain. The current of his ambition was now completely changed. Henceforth it flowed steadily along the channel that his early predilections had provided. Edmund built and endowed a regular monastery at Glastonbury, with a view to place it under his gifted spiritual adviser. For filling this monastery he sought a community of monks, anxious, like himself, to plant another institution like that at Fleury on English ground. No conventual establishment, so strictly constituted, had hitherto been known in England. Hence earlier Benedictine monasticism had come to be treated rather as a pretence than a reality; and Dunstan passed for the first of English Benedictine Abbots. The institution that looked up to him as its father upon English ground, long maintained a position both commanding and useful. It nobly patronized both arts and literature.

There can be no doubt that Glastonbury's great Abbot was able and sincere, though fanatical and ambitious: nor can the Benedictine order be denied respectful consideration. It stands upon far higher ground than that heterogenous mass of begging friars and unprofitable monks, by which the papal reign was gradually overspread.

Account of the Ministers under the Bishops in the Anglo-Saxon Church, about 1010 A.D., *when the pomp of Ecclesiastical arrangements had begun.*

(From Soames' History of Anglo Saxon Church.)

The Anglo-Saxon Church, like that of Rome, used a gradation of inferior Ministers. Elfric's Canons pronounce ecclesiastical orders to be the following seven: Ostiary, Reader, Exorcist, Acolyte, Sub-deacon, Deacon, and Presbyter, or Mass-priest. The Ostiary was to keep the church doors and to ring the bell. The Reader was to read in Church, and to preach God's word. Perhaps the accustomed homily was often heard from his lips. The Exorcist to adjure malignant spirits. The Acolyte to hold the candle or taper when the Gospel was read, or the eucharist hallowed. The Sub-deacon was to carry the vessels to the Deacon, and to wait upon him at the altar. The Deacon was to wait upon the officiating Priest, to place the offerings upon the altar, and to read the Gospel. He might baptize, and administer the eucharist. Priests, however, appear occasionally to have dispensed with his attendance at the altar, probably from motives of economy. Such are stigmatised by Elfric as rather nominal members of the sacerdotal order, than really worthy of its privileges. The whole clerical body, from the lowest to the highest order, appear to have been called *Priests*. But one who had received what is called priestly ordination was termed a *Mass-priest* or *Presbyter*. It was his privilege and office to consecrate the eucharist.

In closing these notes upon the Anglo-Saxon Church it is due to it to record, that though it formed a disproportionate

estimate of such customs as pilgrimages, trial by ordeal, the value of relics, it was for several centuries free from the grosser perversions that characterized the Anglo-Norman Church after the Conquest in 1066, (from the 12th to the 16th Century). It neither held priestly absolution beyond a precatory form, nor did it recognize extreme papal pretensions of authority, nor transubstantiation. The Anglo-Saxon Church had features more akin to those of the Reformed Church, than were formed in the Anglican Church, from the Conquest to the Reformation.

Note V. (to page 43.)

Of different kinds of Absolution.

As to the Absolution used at the commencement of the Daily Services after the general Confession, it may be noticed that it is grounded upon similar formularies that had originally been used at the hour of Prime and Compline; which formularies with improvements, Cardinal Quignonez had also endeavoured to introduce at the commencement of the Matins of the Roman Church in 1535, and thereby he had given precedent and suggestion, which may have guided the Reformers in adopting their more correct formularies for general confession and absolution.

The form as recorded in the Salisbury Breviary for the Services at Prime and Compline had been as follows.

Priest. I confess to or before God, the blessed Mary, and all Saints, (then the Priest turning himself to the Choir added) "and to you, I have sinned too much in thought, word, and deed, by my own fault." Then turning to the Altar, "I intreat the Holy Mary, and all the Saints of God and (then looking towards the Choir) you all to pray for me! The Choir were to answer "May God have mercy upon you."

The Choir were then to make confession, each saying, "I confess before God," &c. (using the same confession as the

Priest.) Then the Priest was to reply, "May God Almighty have mercy upon you, and forgive you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, preserve and confirm you in what is good, and bring you to eternal life." Amen.

"May the Almighty and merciful God give unto you absolution and remission of all your sins, space for repentance, amendment of life, and the consolation of the Holy Spirit." Amen.

Here certainly the absolution was originally one of *wishing* not of official declaration, and there is something pleasing and touching in the reciprocation of the good wishes between the Priest and the Choir, who made the responses of the Service; which we miss after the enactment was passed that the absolution should "be said by the Priest alone."*

It would seem that the general absolution was, at the time when the above was used, *precatory*.

It is made by us declatory after the confession in general terms.

Both the preceeding forms are widely different from the

* The above precatory absolution had two peculiar features.

I. The introduction of the appeal to the Virgin Mary and the Saints, though vain and useless, need not have a stronger interpretation attached to it than the confession to or before the brethren, to witness the humiliation of the suppliant who made the confession.

II. The Confession and precatory absolution was here reciprocated between brethren of the same monastic order.

The words used were specially expressive of the need which the Minister felt of Divine forgiveness, and of the forbearance of his brethren as to his imperfect discharge of the religious duties of his office, and of their need of his forbearance also towards them. A trace of the same features seems to have lingered in the words of our formulary, "that those things may please him which we do at this present"—which were rendered in one version of our modern Liturgy, that was made for the French Protestants in the Channel Islands, "le culte que nous lui offrerons." Comber too has paraphrased it thus, "that the prayers and the other duties, which we are at present performing in his house may please him."

absolution given after the auricular confession, or after private confession of the sick. That undoubtedly is worded as authoritatively given in terms of fearful presumption, as described by me in page 44.

Bishop Burnet informs us (on the authority of Morinus,) that it was only in the twelfth Century that some few began to use the words "I absolve thee": yet to soften the expression which seemed new and bold, some tempered it with these words, 'in so far as it granted to my frailty,' and others with these words 'as far as the pardon is me.' William of Paris (in the fourteenth Century), says that only a *Prayer* for absolution was uttered by the Priest.

Our Commination Service rightly expresses that to God only it appertains to for give sins.

Note VI. (to page 65.)

Amendments proposed by Cardinal Quignonez. A restless seeking for Reform in the Roman Church, so as to have more solid portions of Scripture read in their Services,—about 1536. *Advantages of public perusal of the Scriptures.*

It is very remarkable that in the Roman Church itself there arose in the early part of the 16th Century a desire of reforming several particulars of its system. The most remarkable of those who desired this was Cardinal Quignonez —(sometimes spoken of as Cardinal Quignon). He strongly advised that in place of the short forms of reading Scripture, larger portions should be read in their Services.

"In introducing a more continuous reading of Scripture into the Daily Service, instead of the numerous short and interrupted lections of the Breviary, our Reformers had thus an example before them in the Roman Church. Cardinal Quignonez, by direction of Clement VII, had published a reformed Breviary in 1536, which was recommended, though

not formally enjoined, by Pope Paul III, and was extensively used for forty years. The Cardinal's great object being to promote the knowledge of Scripture, his work furnished some hints to compilers of our Book of Services, whose object was so far the same; and the Preface was taken almost entirely from it.*

A change appears to have been introduced also in editions of the Sarum Breviary in 1516 and 1531. Cardinal Quignonez (1536) had appointed three lections, one from each Testament, and one from a Homily: he says (Præf. fol. 3.) 'Versicules, responsoria, et capitula omittere visum est; locum relinqui voluimus continenti lectioni Scripturæ sacræ.' The length of his lection was about fifteen or twenty verses. "I have deemed it desirable to omit versicles, responses and short quotations of verses, to the intent that space should be left for the continuous reading of Scripture.† Even with this lengthening of the Portions read from Scripture the Mass in his Breviary was shorter than it had been before.

I will hereto subjoin some admirable remarks of Mr. Freeman upon the advantage to be derived from the continuative reading of moderately long portions of Scripture.

For a large popular audience they should be of moderate length, not exceeding 35 or 30 verses.

How advantage arises from reading in our Services the Scripture Lessons, through spiritual and sympathetical discipline of our mind and feelings.

Freeman, p. 345.

The process by which mental and spiritual formation takes place, though generally assumed to be obvious, is in reality one of the least-probed mysteries of our being. One thing

* Procter, p. 25

† Procter, p. 217.

bearing upon the present point is certain, viz: that the *passing before the mind of realized images* has a *tendency* to conform it, apart from any conscious effort, to an attitude or position correspondent to the ideas so excited. The mind is not what it was previous to such apprehension. Its world, so to speak, has become enlarged or varied by the entering in of a new feature; and its own recognition of this newly apprehended fact has made *it* also to a certain degree, and for the time being, different. And when, as it is universally the case in the hearing of Holy Scripture, the objects set before the mind are such as it must entertain some disposition towards either of approval or disapproval, sympathy or distaste; growth (*i. e.* variation) of a *moral* kind ensures. We admit this freely as regards evil; we speak of hurtful and defiling images passing through the mind or soul. And doubtless the same is the case with the images of good, with the representations, narrative or didactic, which Scripture brings before us. The faith for instance of Abraham in offering up Isaac, (a faith, be it observed, in its nature christian,) or again, the direct admonitions of the Prophets; these looked on, approved, sympathized with, almost unconsciously, are directly formative of the mind, because of their throwing it, for the time, into such attitudes of approval and sympathy. Of course the sympathy, and the consequent profit, are in proportion to the Divine grace given and attained; but there is no reason to doubt that grace acts through universal mental laws, such as that just enunciated. And the spiritual profit of hearing is probably to be measured, not, as it is so often imagined, by the amount of knowledge, historical or moral, that we consciously have carried away, and are able to call up before us at will; but by the degree of faithful and loving sympathy, which we at the time exercise on the things divinely submitted to us. Improved mental and spiritual action, as far as it results from hearing, is comparatively seldom due to particular precepts re-called at the moment: as a general rule, it flows rather out of strengthened and improved tone and character, itself formed by sympathetic conformity to the good propounded to us. Spiritual growth on this principle of course finds its highest realization in the devout and loving contem-

plation of Christ Himself, the Image of the Invisible God. "We all, with open face, *beholding* as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are *changed* into the *same image*, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord."

There is one point however which I think admits improvement;—that the liberty of expounding at certain Services the Scriptures should be conceded to such Clergymen as have experience and judgment.

I believe expository teaching is cultivated to advantage by Non-conformists, and within due range and limits it might be exercised to advantage more frequently by ourselves.

Note VII. (to page 28.)

The non-attendance of the laity at the sevenfold Services of the Roman Church in the sixteenth Century, and the practical discontinuance of them as public Services among Modern Romanists.

Extracts from Mr. Freeman's Principles of Divine Service, page 277—280.

By the middle of the sixteenth Century we have a most striking indication of the practical abandonment in other countries of the seven hours as a popular scheme of Services, in the revision made of the Breviary by Cardinal Quignonez in 1536. In the elaborate preface to this Breviary, which was sanctioned for thirty or forty years, there is not, as far as I have observed, the slightest allusion to the use of it by the *laity*, it plainly assumes that the Clergy and they alone, were concerned in the matter. In this country, however, and probably in others also, attendance on some parts of the Daily Office on Sundays or Festivals, (I have found no instance of other days,) certainly survived in some degree; to what extent it is very difficult to ascertain. There has moreover been considerable declension, even since that period, until at length utter neglect of those Services by the *laity* prevails throughout Europe.

Let it be understood, then, that the noble scheme of the seven Canonical hours of Services we have been contemplating is a thing of the past; and of which none, that we know of, desire or attempt the revival. Even Vespers, the sole relic of the seven fold system is discontinued by many Romanists. Nevertheless 'Roman controversialists,' says a recent and well informed writer, (Rev. W. Perceval Ward,) "not unfrequently compare the poverty of our two offices with the richness of their seven. I know that in comparison ours are poor; but every word in those two Services, which our people have, is just so much more that the Roman Catholics give to their own. The Priests of that Church keep those seven

Offices to themselves, convents and cathedral choirs alone excepted, and yet that exclusive use is a burden to them, nay it is so from its very solitariness. Offices moulded for joint or common use are muttered over in private; and even when sung in choir, are never listened to, or joined in, by the people with the exception of Sunday Vespers in some countries, but not even these in Italy. The laity are absolutely ignorant of the Psalms; the Psalter, which always formed the chief manual of devotion of Christians in former days, so much so as to have been called 'the Prayer book of the Saints,' and which is so largely used for devotional purposes amongst ourselves, is entirely unknown to the Roman Catholic laity, especially in Italy. The seven Penitential Psalms are all that are known among them. In France and England the Sunday Vesper Psalms are also known."

"Let it be clearly apprehended that Churches, congregations of Christian men and women, using these ancient and grand Services, nowhere exist. Sundays or week-days no such tide of psalmody as we have been contemplating flows to the glory of God; no such adoring meditation on Holy Scripture occupies the hours whether of night or day; no Te Deum sums up the meditation or the praise; no Lauds salute the return of day with mixed notes of penitence and joy, or awaken Resurrection memories or hopes; no Prime pleads for pardon, or prays for guidance, no Creed is uttered as with one voice and heart, no Collect gathers into it the Eucharistic association of the passing week, or season. The curious and exquisite devices of ever varying Invitatory, Antiphon, and responsory, the several doctrinal associations, beating as pulses through the different offices, these no longer quicken or guide the devotions of any. All this was done once, we hardly know when; all we do know is that it is not done now. In one Country alone, in one form alone, does the ancient Western Office really survive. Psalmody, Scripture, responsive Canticles, Preces, Collects, the media of Europe's ancient worship, banished from all other lands, have taken refuge in the Churches of the English Communion The English Church is in this matter the heir of the world."

Note VIII. (to page 143.)

Details of the further alterations that were made in the Prayer Book in the Revision which followed the Savoy Conference, chiefly of a secondary character.

As some students may like to have a comprehensive list of the alterations which the Legislature sanctioned on that occasion, I here subjoin an account of those which I passed over in pages 142, 143, as unlikely to interest the general reader.

The genealogy which had previously made part of the Gospel for the Sunday after Christmas, was now omitted.

A Collect was supplied for Easter Eve.

The first of the Anthems used on Easter-day was added.

A distinct Epistle was provided for the day of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called the day of the Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin.

New Collects were appointed also for the third Sunday in Advent, and for St. Stephen's day.

A distinct Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, were provided for a sixth Sunday after the Epiphany. The Gospels for the Sunday next before Easter, and Good Friday were shortened, having formerly repeated within them respectively, the second lesson for the same day.*

The Commination Service, was now appointed for the first day of *Lent and at other times* as the Ordinary shall appoint. Its opening features are repulsive and distressing, but some of its formularies, the absolution &c, are composed in a tone more *supplicatory and humble*, still it would admit of being greatly improved. By Archbishop Grindal in Queen Elizabeth's reign it had been ordered to be read four times in the year.

* It would appear, therefore, that originally there was a provision for a distinct Morning Service apart from the ministration of the Communion, as the Gospel reiterated the lesson of the day.

Alterations, chiefly in the Rubric, and favouring the views of the High Church Party,

The Absolution was ordered to be pronounced by the 'Priest' instead of by the 'Minister'.

The History of Bel and the Dragon, was re-inserted in the Calendar of Lessons. This was a reversal of the reprobation which the Presbyterians had passed on that chapter of the Apocrypha.

In the Litany the words *rebellion* and *schism* were added to the petition respecting "sedition, privy conspiracy," &c.

In a subsequent petition the words "bishops, *priests*, and *deacons*," were employed instead of "bishops, *pastors*, and *ministers of the Church*."

In several places, as in one of the Collects for Good Friday, in those for the fifth and sixteenth Sundays after Trinity, for St. Simon and St. Jude, and in other places the word '*Church*' was used instead of '*Congregation*.

Communion Service.

The rubric was added as to "covering what remaineth of the elements with a fair linen cloth."

The order in Council printed at the end of the Communion Service respecting kneeling at the Lord's supper (which had been introduced in 1552 and removed by Queen Elizabeth) was restored with this alteration; instead of its stating that "no adoration is intended or ought to be done unto the sacramental bread and wine then bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood," the latter thirteen words are now changed into the following expression, "*or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.*"

The Preface to Confirmation was curtailed, and the clause respecting the undoubted salvation of baptized infants dying before the commission of actual sin, was removed to where it now stands, after the office for Infant Baptism."

Some changes were made in the offices for Confirmation and Matrimony; and in the rubric at the end of the latter, the receiving the communion on the day of marriage was no longer made imperative. The objectionable words "with my body I thee worship," were allowed to remain, as also the words "sure and certain hope," in the Burial Service; though the Bishops had declared in the statement of the seventeen concessions which they were willing to make, that these expressions might well be altered.

In the Visitation of the Sick the words "if he humbly and heartily desire it," were added to the rubric respecting absolution, the Benediction also, and the Prayers that follow in that Service, appear now for the first time.

In the order for Burial, the first rubric, respecting persons unbaptized or excommunicate or suicides, was added.

Note IX, (to page 215.)

On Clerical Subscription.

Extracts from an Article in the Edinburgh Review, April, 1862.

No other Church upon earth, that we are aware of, requires plenary assent in the way that the Church of England does, not only to its Articles, but adds in also its devotional formularies to be subscribed as a body of doctrinal statement; besides requiring an oath of obedience, according to the Canons, to Ecclesiastical authority.

Proposed amendments.

We submit that it would be a proper correction of the evil to enact that instead of absolute obedience to the Bishop, should be substituted obedience in all things relating to order and discipline, and instead of "unreserved submission to the teaching of the Church," respectful deference to its standard of doctrine, should be all that is required, with the understand-

ing that when that deference can no longer be paid, the ministerial functions of the dissentient must be resigned.

Unparalleled strictness.

As matters now stand, the Church assumes practically, that her foregone conclusions are infallible ones.

She professes in the VI. Article indeed to submit herself to the judgment of Scripture, but her ministers, at her bidding must assert her to be faultless even should she have decided in any point without Scripture authority.

Other Churches of the Reformation have committed errors, but in the one particular province with which we are occupied (that of ministerial subscription to authorised formularies,) none have been so stringent as the Anglican Church.

The great and peculiar injustice of the English system arises from the treatment of devotional forms as though they were deliberate enunciations of doctrine, thus converting them to a use which the compilers never intended, for the purpose of wringing from them a body of dogmatic propositions which shall modify or overbear the carefully balanced judgment or intentional silence of the Church; and carrying the demand of acquiescence so far as to extort an assertion of "assent and consent" to all and everything.

The practice in other Churches.

The venerable Eastern Church imposes no subscription on its ordained priests, either in the ancient Patriarchate, or in the branch which subsists under the imperial authority of Russia; the Moravian Church none whatever. In the Protestant National Churches on the Continent the growing practice for more than a Century has been to forego subscription altogether.

* * * * * *

We may not think it would be wise in itself, or accordant with the general feeling of the nation, to follow precisely the

example of those Protestant Churches which merely exact a pledge from their ministers that they will preach the truth out of the Scriptures, or will follow the doctrines of the authorised standard "so far as it is consistent with the word of God." We deeply appreciate the wisdom of Burke's remarks on the necessity of maintaining a definite standard of faith in an organized Christian community, and the inadequacy of the Scriptures, to answer a purpose which they were never intended to meet. We are not recommending the removal of the ancient landmarks, or a venturous embarkation on an unknown sea. We are but pleading for the restoration of the ancient usage of the Reformed Church of England—the return to that point of departure from the Church of Rome which was reached before party passion gave a disastrous inclination to the course. (The writer alludes to the time before Archbishop Whitgift's three articles were devised, and made stricter afterwards by Bishop Bancroft.) What more can be desired of an accredited minister, found, upon examination, to be duly qualified for his office, than that he should subscribe deferentially to the Articles, promising at the same time conformity to the ordinances, and obedience to the rulers of the Church he serves? Such a profession of allegiance would raise no such scruples as we have been speaking of in the minds of conscientious men. The most truth-loving, the most independent could give in his adherence on these terms to the Church of his choice, without loss of self-respect or abdication of his rightful liberty.

And if in some respects a minister should find that the Church to which he belongs, needs (as he believes) some further reform, either in practice or in doctrine, is he to be debarred from uttering his convictions, so long as this is done with modesty and forbearance, and with a due regard to his ministerial position? Ought he, as a Christian among Christian brethren, to be forbidden to "speak the truth in love," or, as a member of a free society, to be denied the privilege of advocating progress? We think neither. We think that a Church sinks itself at once to the level of a sect, if it binds itself irrevocably to a system devised by human

thought, imposing this as the condition of communion, whether upon its laity or its clergy; if it treats the introduction of fresh light as a crime, or the suggestion of improvement as treason. The true Catholic Church, while inheriting the wholesome doctrine, and the rich experience of the past, inherits no less the never-failing hope of the future. And we are sure that if the clergy were less bound to the letter of the past, their words would have more weight with the Laity, both as teachers and as spiritual guides.

Of the forms of Clerical Subscription which have been proposed, that of Lord Nottingham in 1689, *and that of Archbishop Tillotson, appear the best to the Author of this present work.*

The declaration proposed by Lord Nottingham was as follows:—"I, A.B. do submit to the present constitution of the Church of England. I acknowledge that the doctrine of it contains all things necessary to salvation; and I will conform myself to the worship and the government thereof as established by law, and I solemnly promise in the exercise of my ministry to preach and practise according thereunto."

Tillotson proposed the following:—"I, A.B. do submit to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England, as it shall be (is) established by law, and promise to teach and practice accordingly." (Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 169.)

Note X.

Origin of the formularies in the Prayer Book.

It remains to present a concise account of the several sources whence our Liturgical formularies have come down to us—a complicated and intricate subject. Looking at the Prayer Books which we use now, we find that they bear with a few unimportant exceptions the same character which they

assumed at the time of the Restoration of Charles II., and which they had authoritatively stamped upon them by the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

Some ten or a dozen new formularies were at that date originated, being provided by Bishop Sanderson, Dr. Reynolds Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Gunning, and other divines, to meet the deficiencies in the Liturgy felt by them, (See p. 142.)

We may next retrace the formularies back to sundry alterations made in James I. reign, where we find the Catechism augmented by the portion referring to the Sacraments, the Book of Canons organized, and clerical subscription made inordinately stringent; and a few occasional Prayers also bear this date. (See p. 107—109.)

We go further back and find sundry questionable alterations were introduced in the Prayer Book during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, chiefly connected with external ceremonies. All the alterations then made had a tendency to congeal in cold uniformity the more evangelical and spiritual character, which the Liturgy had assumed toward the close of Edward VI. reign, in his second Service Book.

Here we have reached the stage where our Prayer Book was in a spiritual sense at its best estate, having just liberated itself from many gross corruptions of the Roman Church. The temperate yet thorough extent of its purification from errors being the liberation of the sound vital principle, which Church Institutions had preserved under a mountainous mass of corruptions.*

We go thence backward a few years and contemplate how it stood as a fair achievement of the early Reforms in the shape of the first Service Book, three years before. We thence go further back to the age when it was gradually produced piecemeal in the Primers of King Henry's reign, being translations from the Latin Breviary of the un-reformed

* For chief of the errors rejected by the Reformers see p. 35–48.

Church of Salisbury, or other cotemporary sources among the Reformers, during the first half of the 16th Century.*

Thus far backward it is comparatively easy to trace the formularies we now use. But when we come to the Anglican Un-reformed Church, the difficulty of tracing the true origin of those formularies is considerably increased. For this reason—that although the Anglican un-reformed Church long acted under the influence of Rome, and had adopted the majority of its formularies in concurrence with Roman order, it still preserved several original features of its earlier Gallican origin† which combination had been tolerated all along from the time when Augustine organized the Anglican Church.

When we examine the Anglican Latin Liturgy as used in the Breviary and Missals of Salisbury, York, &c., we find it comprises formularies derived from manifold sources from the Gallican Church, from the Eastern Church, &c., &c. Therefore to state that a formulary of ours is translated from such Latin Liturgy is by no means identical with saying that it is of *Roman* origin.

To take one of the plainest and best attested instances. We translated the Te Deum without doubt from the Latin Service Book of the Roman Church; but the Te Deum is generally, (I think I might say universally) admitted to be the Compositions of Hilary of Poictiers, A.D. 355, or of Hilary, Bishop of Arles, or of some other prelate of the Gallican Church; or of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, about A.D. 390. The order of Communion Service, the observance of Easter, the Form of Baptism, the derivation of these to us in the first instance is equally assignable to the *Gallican*, as to the Roman Church, and others are distinctly assignable to the Eastern Church, having been adopted by Rome from Eastern Services, as the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, Bishop of Con-

* These stages are recorded in chronological order, King Henry VIII., (page 51), King Edward's Primer, (p. 68—69.)

† I here advert to what is stated in p. 81 and in p. 24.

stantinople: the Nicene Creed adopted from the earlier Church, and the two other Creeds.

I am fully convinced, therefore, that when we hear that a formulary is derived from Rome, the correct signification is that it only came to us through the *intermediate channel* of Rome; and its origin in very many cases is to be considered as quite anterior to its adoption by the Roman Church: and I further believe that the Anglican Church adopted some of its formularies from the Eastern Church, independently of their being similarly adopted by Rome, and without even having met with them in the Roman Services. I may not in the limited time and space now left for sending forth this publication be able to affirm confidently to which of the above sources we are definitely to assign every one of the formularies which have been translated from the Anglican Breviary for our use. I must refer the reader for more special information about each formulary to the larger edition of Procter's History of the Prayer Book.

Having given this limitation of the meaning, with which we are to qualify the statement of any formulary being adopted by us from the Anglican Un-reformed Liturgy, I shall proceed now to Catalogue the Chief of our Formularies, and to assign the original source of them as far as a very attentive study of the chief authorities on the subject enables me.

I have already in the first twenty pages of this History of the Prayer Book, traced the primitive rites and the simple formularies of worship used in the early Church. We have seen how in the first four Centuries definite formularies were composed, expressing the aspirations of the human heart, and the various spiritual requirements of the united body of Christians, which received general adoption and currency.

We find, therefore, that most of our formularies had taken an incipient if not a perfect organization, about the fourth or the fifth Century, if not before.

As a consequence of the main topics of prayer being already represented in the formularies of the Church, and liberty of thought and judgment being checked, there was little material addition of formularies between the 7th and 16th Century. The reader will observe in the following list how important an addition was made at the time of the Reformation. It was the after growth of Liturgical improvement. As the cumbrous armour of antiquity began then to fall into disuse for the body, the narrow and harsh framework of the Liturgical system was thenceforth laid aside, and spiritual religion burst forth with ardent energy and unfettered vigour.

List of our formularies and their origin, with the date of their composition and adoption.

I must request that the reader will understand that all formularies (whether Collects, Versicles, or responses) which are not *expressly specified* in the subjoined list, were translated from the Salisbury Breviary, or Missals, which had been used before the Reformation. They therefore came down to us through the Roman Church, (with the limited interpretation of what that means, which I have given in the preceeding pages.) I shall here only specify those formularies that have a clearly distinct origin from that of Rome.

N.B.—Of course all Lessons, Epistles, Gospels and passages of holy writ can have no subordinate origin assigned to them.

Morning Prayer.

The introductory portion, viz., all that precedes the Lord's Prayer was first put at the commencement of our public worship, in the year 1552, in King Edward's second Service Book. The Reformers appear to have felt that some distinct announcement of the spirit in which the worshipper should approach God, required to be more definitely made. For this purpose they began with some sentences—already familiar to the worshippers, to enjoin on them a penitential spirit. This was followed by an exhortation to the same purpose,

and then they had to substitute a general confession—to correct their views about individual auricular confession being requisite—and they followed up the subject by a declaratory absolution—which they substituted for priestly special absolution to each individual, which had been enjoined in the Roman Church. Thus a wholesome correction was administered, according to the pressing need of that age, at the very commencement of public worship. That they verged towards some excessive expressions of self-abasement, and somewhat missed the rich consolations and cheerful assurances given to the believer is not to be wondered at, in persons just escaped from the darkness and error of the Roman Church. The foreign Reformers at Geneva and Strasburg, had used somewhat similar formularies at the commencement of public worship—the books of Valerandus Pullain, and of Calvin* were becoming known in England, and it is recorded that the work of the former, suggested to Cranmer and his associates the main features of the present Introductory Portion of our Morning and Evening Services.

Origin of the Creeds.

A very protracted process is observable in the formation of Creeds, and their ultimate adoption in various Liturgies. In the Apostolic age the affirmation of any person's belief was comprised in very short expressions, such as "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved." "Teach all nations and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." True, a great deal of substantial truth was by implication contained in such compendiums of belief. We next find in the early fathers summaries of the chief points of Apostolic teaching—which were subsequently rehearsed by the catechumens, or novices previously to being admitted to baptism. Originally they were therefore used as compendiums of instruction rather than as formularies of worship.

* This fuller account will render more explicit what is stated at end of page 69, and in p. 258, see Proctor page 45 & 204. Some assign the original idea to Calvin? but the person in communication with Cranmer appears to have been Pullain.

There is in the ancient Litany an obtestation of the divine persons in their various characters and offices, which in fact amounts indirectly to a Creed.

In the *Te Deum* also, taking its date in Gaul, about A.D. 400, and thence adopted both in Rome and in Britain, the ascription of praise to the several persons of the Godhead, embraces many of the facts of creation, redemption and sanctification, and so constitutes a summary of belief or a Creed.

The *Apostles' Creed,** which tradition declares to be the joint composition of the Apostles—most likely was composed after their decease, and may be regarded as a concise summary of the chief points, that they had taught. It was professed with sundry variations in various parts of the East and West, having been used by Christians in the Ante-Nicene Period, viz., between A.D 200 and 325; and Rome adopted this most ancient Creed in her Communion Service. For they were free from Arianism at Rome, and therefore had not introduced the Nicene Creed (which was written against the Arians) in their Communion Service before the eighth or ninth Century. Some say the Nicene Creed was only introduced at Rome, into her Communion Service in the eleventh Century, A.D. 1014. Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, Vol. II., p. 54.

The Apostles' Creed had been used for Centuries in the Salisbury Breviary and thence was adopted in the Reformed Church. (See Hook's Ecclesiastical Dictionary.

The *Nicene Creed* was composed at Nice, in Asia Minor, A.D. 325, and was adopted in the Church of Constantinople. It is said that Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of the Eastern Church at Antioch, was the first who inserted this Creed in the Eucharistic Liturgy, using it in the year 471 as a bar to exclude Arian Heretics from the Communion. In Spain it began to be used A.D. 589, but not at Rome till much later.

* The original and preferable form of the Apostolic Creed is given above at page 268.

The *Athanasian Creed* is supposed to have been composed in the fifth Century, in Gaul, upon the tradition of what Athanasius had taught in the fourth Century. At Constantinople it was written in the Psalters of the seventh and eighth Centuries, and was used in the Matin Service of the Anglo Saxon Church, and subsequently adopted in the Salisbury Breviary.

The Litany is Oriental in its peculiar structure of the Minister enunciating the topic of the petition, and the People expressing their desire that such petition should be granted. When transferred from the Salisbury Breviary to our Church a multitude of vain petitions to Saints, &c., were expunged from it in 1549, and more thoroughly cleared away in 1552. It received several additional petitions from the Litany of Hermann, Lutheran Bishop of Cologne and from other sources.

The Versicles beginning "From our enemies defend us, O Christ," were marked in the Latin Service books as to be read only when there should be need, i.e. in consequence of war.

Prayer for the Sovereign at the end of the Litany, first met with in the reign of Henry VIII. and that for the Royal Family in 1604, but they received their present position and shape in 1661.

The Prayer for the Clergy and people is found in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, 494 A.D.

Occasional prayers for rain, fair weather, in war, in plague, &c., were drawn up chiefly in the reign of Edward VI., some in 1549 others in 1552.

Thanksgivings on the same occasional subjects composed in 1604.

Prayers to be used in the Ember weeks. These intercessions on behalf of the Church and Clergy, are peculiar to the English Liturgy, and were composed in 1661.

Prayer for the Parliament. A form of much the same character appeared in 1625 on the occasion of a special fast. It was ascribed to Arbp. Laud, and was adopted as it now stands in 1661.

Prayer for all conditions of men. Composed in 1661 by Bishop Sanderson, or Dr. Gunning, Master of St. John's College Cambridge, who was also a Bishop. Mr. Procter states that most probably this latter was the author of it. He says also that this prayer is supposed to have been longer in the original draft of it, but that the Commissioners excluded from it several petitions which were embodied in it for the King, the Royal Family, the Clergy, &c., being determined to retain the short collects for those special subjects. They however suffered the word '*finally*,' to remain in it, which seems out of place now that the clauses that preceded it are omitted. (Procter p. 262, and Cardwell's Conferences p. 308.)

The general Thanksgiving. This excellent formulary was composed by Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, in 1661.

The Prayer of St. Chrysostom. "Almighty God who hast given us grace," &c.. this form comes from the Oriental or Greek Liturgy thence through the Roman Church to us.

Evening Prayer.

The Formularies for the Evening Service are the same with the exception of the two Collects for the Evening and the passages from Scripture.

The Collects.

I.

There are 47 of them that are traced to the fifth and sixth Century, being found in the Sacramentaries or Service Books of Pope Leo, A.D. 483; Gelasius, A.D. 494; or Gregory, A.D. 590.

The 47 Original Collects are expressed in elegant Latin, and are good compositions. Their drift appears to be to

embody the same topics as the Epistle and Gospel of the day advert to. Their name 'Collect' implies that they collect and sum up the teaching of those portions of Scripture.

The Collect for the 22nd Sunday after Trinity was taken from the Anglo-Saxon Sacramentary.

II.

The Collects from Ancient Models, but which were altered by the Compilers or Revisers of the Prayer Book.

The Collect for the Innocents' Day—altered in		1661
Fourth after Epiphany	,,	—
Sexagesima	,,	1549
Good Friday, third Collect	,,	—
Fourth after Easter	,,	1661
Sunday after the Ascension	,,	1549
Second after Trinity	,,	1661
Conversion of St. Paul	,,	1549
St. Bartholomew	,,	—

Both in Edward's time and at the Hampton Court and Savoy Conferences, some alterations were made of unapproved expressions in several of them, which had a tone congenial to Roman errors.

III.

Collects of modern composition.

The Collects for			
First and Second Advent	was composed in		1549
Third in Advent	,,	,,	1661
Christmas Day	,,	,,	1549
St. Stephen's Day	,,	,,	1661
Sixth after Epiphany	,,	,,	1661
Quinquagesima	,,	,,	1549
Ash-Wednesday	,,	,,	—
First in Lent	,,	,,	—
Easter Even	,,	,,	1661
First & Second after Easter	,,	,,	1549

St. Andrew's Day	„	„	1552	
St. Thomas' Day	„	„	1549	
St. Matthias	„	„	——	And
St. Mark	„	„	——	altered
St. Philip & St. James	„	„	——	1661
St. Barnabas	„	„	——	
St. John Baptist	„	„	——	
St. Peter	„	„	——	
St. James	„	„	——	
St. Matthew	„	„	——	
St. Luke	„	„	——	1661
St. Simon and St. Jude	„	„	——	
All Saints	„	„	——	

Offices for the Communion.

The formularies for these Services may be regarded as taken from the Latin Breviary, in which they had been used from 600 to 1550. They were translated in the reign of Edward VI. for our English Services. A few exceptions are hereunder specified.

The reading of the Ten Commandments was introduced in 1552 in imitation of the Service used by Pollamus or Pullain a Protestant refugee from Strasburgh, who settled at Glastonbury. It is probable this custom was adopted in order to enforce attention to the second Commandment as a testimony against the images sanctioned by Rome. It was requisite at that juncture to denounce the superstitious use of images; but it is less necessary now that Protestant principle is fully established, and the custom of reading the Commandments might be less frequently observed. (See p. 257.)

The Prayer for the Church Militant.

It is shewn in page 142 sec. 3. how this prayer was altered in conformity with Protestant Principle in 1552, after it had been adopted from the Salisbury Breviary—and how a fresh clause was added to it in 1661.

One of the *Exhortations, the comfortable words, the confession*

were abridged from a book called "The Simple and Religious Consultation," by Hermann, Archbishop of the Lutheran Church at Cologne, written about 1543. Sundry other sentences were introduced from Hermann.

The second Exhortation, in case the people are negligent in attending, was the composition of Peter Martyr. 552 A.D.

The third exhortation to be read at the time of celebration "Dearly beloved in the Lord," was added in 1552, with the invitation "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent."

The special Prefaces to the Thanksgiving at Easter, Ascension Day, and Trinity Sunday are from the Roman and Anglican Missals, the one for Christmas Day, and that for Whit-Sunday were composed in 1549.

The Prayer "We do not presume to come," was composed in 1548. Some trace the topics of it to Basil's Oriental Liturgy.

The Consecration Prayer is said to resemble the Gallic and Spanish Liturgy, in the portions which relate to the Bread, and the Oriental Liturgies in parts that relate to the Wine.

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.—The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. Not given in both kinds by the Church of Rome.

In Gregory's time a short form was used in the Roman Church "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul." To which the recipient answered, 'Amen.'

The history of our present combined forms is given in the Chapters of Edward VI, and Elizabeth's reigns pages 70 and 93.

The first Prayer after the Lord's Prayer, following the participation of the elements, not traceable.

The second Prayer, similar to a prayer in the Liturgies of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria.

The full formulary of thanksgiving "Glory be to God on High," &c., is of Eastern origin. It was adopted by Athanasius, and early also in the Roman Church.

The Blessing is a composition of the Early Reformed Church from Philipp. iv. 7., with the second clause from Hermann, or some more ancient office.

The Baptismal and other Offices.

It appears that our Reformers in drawing up these offices availed themselves greatly of the formularies of Bucer, Melancthon, and Luther, which had become embodied in Hermann's Consultation. And they had doubtless imitated many of the primitive formularies.

And there are several important portions in the Baptismal Services derived through the Roman and Anglican Missals from the earliest Liturgies of the Church.

I had arranged a systematic statement of the origin of the several formularies, but having discovered that there were imaginary and imperfect statements in the authorities I had consulted, I prefer omitting this portion, to advancing any statement about which I do not feel thoroughly convinced of its unquestionable correctness. There is much sound information that may be relied on, in Procter's larger edition of the History of the Prayer Book.

I am deeply impressed with the necessity of a thorough revision of the Baptismal Services, in accordance with the views I have expressed in pages 147—8 and 252.

The Catechism. Its History and defective character have already been commented on, see pages 76 and 105.

The Services for Marriage, the Visitation of the Sick, and the Burial Service, (derived mainly from the Salisbury manual) need an expurgation of much questionable matter, as has been noticed in various passages of this work; as to the latter Service I have suggested the requisite amendments in page 253.

To conclude—I doubt not that her Majesty's speech at the opening of the present Session has cheered many hearts, followed promptly as it has been by the appointment of a well chosen committee to enquire into, and report upon the terms of Clerical subscription, with a view to the relaxation of any undue stringency upon the Clerical body. Let us hope that this will be shortly followed by the other step which is imperatively necessary, viz., the appointment of a second Commission (according to what is suggested in pages 209) whose duty it shall be to report upon the desired revision and re-arrangement of our Liturgical Services, and may their labours be crowned by results—happy and glorious to the Established Church throughout the British Dominions, and to the Christian Church at large throughout the world.

Some such revision and re-arrangement of the Services for public worship is certainly called for. There is at present much just dissatisfaction in the public mind with reference to the Liturgy of the Established Church.

Efforts are at the present time being made by the Ministers of Lady Huntingdon's Connection to assume the position and name of the Free Church of England, and another religious body, claiming to be the introducers of a second Reformation, have come forward with a new body of XLI Articles, and petitioned the Queen that they may be substituted for the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England. The movement does not commend itself to approbation so much as a good revision and re-arrangement of our present Prayer Book would.

If the Church of England would clear her Liturgy from the blots that deface it, and shake off the servile chains which fetter her Ministers, no other religious body could contest with her the right to be denominated the Free Church of England.

But, alas, during the short meeting of the Convocation in February the Lower House of Convocation has done much to forfeit any dependence on their judgment, by affirming

that the Burial Service requires no alteration, and that Clerical Subscription must continue to express unqualified approbation of the contents of the Prayer Book.

If our Ecclesiastical rulers will with blind infatuation close down the safety valves of Revision and Reform, and drive on headlong to destruction, the only remedy left for sensible men—and those who value Christian faithfulness more than present sublunary interests—will be to organize without waiting for human authority institutions for public worship more intimately and thoroughly characterized by sound principles, and thus carry out the Reformation to its legitimate and full developement.

The present year will perhaps witness such a crisis for evil or for good. May the good preponderate in the well adjusted scales, whereby the Divine Providence weighs and over-rules all the interests of the Christian Church.

THE END.

ERRATA.

LITERALS.

Page 15, *for* Alexandriain Egypt, *read* Alexandria in Egypt.
„ 27, line 8, *for* may like to be put in possession, *read* may like to have such information.
„ 28, „ 16, *for* Scripture, Hymns, *read* Scripture Hymns, *i.e.* Canticles like "My soul doth magnify," &c.
„ 37, „ 13, *for* actual act, *read* actual fact.
„ 51, „ 2, 6, 9, *for* Romish, *read* Roman.
„ 53, „ 5, The same correction.
„ 86, „ 15, *for* fort hat, *read* for that.
„ 108, „ 17, *for* remonstrance, *read* remonstrants.
„ 145, „ 1, *for* Sacraments, *read* sacrament.
„ 152, „ 12, *for* they omitted, *read* they are disinclined.
„ 173, „ 5, *for* irregulated, *read* ill-regulated.
„ 247, „ —, *for* p. 411, *read* pages 409, 410.
„ 254, „ 19, *for* didst not despise, *read* didst not abhor.
„ 298, „ 17, declaratory.
„ 299, „ 10, as far as the pardon is *in* me.
„ — „ 14. to forgive.
„ 311, „ 6 from bottom, *for* reforms *read* Reformers.
„ 312, „ 24, *for* compositions *read* composition.

CORRECTIONS.

Looking more minutely into a few passages, as I have had opportunity of referring to further authorities, while passing these pages through the press, I find that I have to offer some corrections, viz.—

Page 19, *last paragraph*—should have been more correctly worded thus.—The Gallic Church observed Easter-day on whatever Sunday fell between the 14th and 20th day of the Moon's age, but the Roman Church observed it on the Sunday that fell between the 16th and 22nd day of the Moon. The latter was therefore more correct, for the Resurrection morning, *i.e.*, Easter-day, was two days after the Passover, which corresponded to Good Friday, and was the 14th day of the age of the first Moon after the Vernal Equinox, according to Exodus xii. 6.

Page 24, *last paragraph*—will be more correctly understood by referring to the second note in the Appendix, page 282.

Page 29, *first paragraph*—should read thus.—Compline, about sunset. Lord's Prayer, Creed, short Lesson from Scripture, (two verses perhaps), Confession, in general terms, the Psalm Miserere, Absolution in general terms.—These last three formularies were used both at this service and at Matins. (See also Appendix, Note V.) on forms of Absolution.

Page 46, line 11, *for* Creed, Articles, and Canons, *read* in the Creeds rescripts of the Pontiffs, and decrees of the Church;—Though the term *Canons* of Cloveshoo is used in 780 A.D. and the *Articles* of Clarendon in 1161.

Page 71, The first paragraph upon Masses and Prayers for the dead requires to be read in connection with page 142, paragraph 3.

Page 137, line 17, I find that the objection of the Presbyterians was made against having so much of the Burial Service in the open air in inclement weather, as to endanger health, and that the reply expressed that they needed a *warm* cap, more than a new rubric.

Page 144, line 22, The reference is to the Edinburgh Review January 1861, Article on Church Expansion and Liturgical Revision.

Page 234, 20th. Before the Lord's Prayer, the morning Collect "Almighty and everlasting God who hast safely brought us, &c." could well be introduced according to the suggestion of Dr. Brent, in his book, "Proposed Permissive Variations." (Macintosh, Paternoster Row. 1864.)

The same order also suggests that if a few forms of Liturgies varied for special occasions, and for different seasons, were brought into use, it would have a very enlivening effect, and specially improve our week-day Services.

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